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Selections.

RECONSTRUCTION.

LETTER FROM CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO THE PRESIDENT.

[The following letter to the President was prepared by a committee appointed at a recent meeting of the merchants and others held at the rooms of the Board of Trade in Boston. Its main purpose is to request a sufficient delay in a final settlement of the mode of reconstruction, until the country, North and South, is better prepared than it now can be to determine wisely and safely the various questions presented, especially in the matter of suffrage.]

To the President of the United States:

SIR: The rebellion forced upon the loyal States a long war, costly in blood and treasure. The military conflict has ended, and we all rejoice at its termination. Most of the States which were rebels are held in military possession. We shall rejoice when this also terminates. You have repeatedly expressed and distinctly indicated a strong desire to relax and remove your military grasp of those States. With this desire we have the fullest sympathy. The sooner peace, with all its relations and with all its blessings, can be established, the sooner will every part of this great country be active in promoting its own prosperity, and the prosperity of every other part and of the whole.

We believe, however, that no one knows better than you do, that peace itself will be only an illusion and a mischief, and not that peace over which we may all rejoice, if it be precipitated to the neglect of those terms and conditions which the safety and security of the whole country demand, and which it is therefore equally the right and the duty of the whole country to insist upon.

The questions presented by the present attitude of the States which rebelled against the Nation are numerous, and have many aspects. We have no doubt that they, and whatever may be suggested to you in relation to them, will receive from you due consideration. We ask now to offer to you some views upon the bearing of some of these questions upon the safety, the prosperity, and the good faith of the whole country.

REPRESENTATION.

The national Constitution gave to the white men of those States votes for three-fifths of the slaves. It was, therefore, a compact: the free States admitted its binding force, and would never have interfered with the exercise of this right in those States had they not voluntarily renounced by rebellion this and all their Constitutional rights. But we cannot think it would be either just or prudent to restore to them now those three-fifths, and at the same time make them a present of the other two-fifths. All reasons founded upon the principles of free and equal Republican institutions are against this; and, instead of a necessity for doing it, the whole country appears to us to be under that necessity which a due regard to our safety and security creates, not to do it.

We have made the slaves freemen, free citizens of the United States. They must, therefore, all, at the next and subsequent apportionments of representatives, be counted among those whose number measures the right of national representation. It might well be asked, would it be right—we ask now only would it be safe—to permit all the votes of these colored men to be cast, but to require that all their votes should be cast for them by the white men living by their side? There would be injustice, and we think there would be insecurity, in saying to one hundred men of any of the loyal States: You shall cast one hundred votes; but a hundred men in one of the disloyal States shall cast two hundred votes, because there live among them a hundred men of a different color. The hundred men in that State will cast, it is true, but one hundred votes; but it is equally true that they will be two hundred votes in their influence and power, or that those hundred voters will, through their representation in Congress, exert the same influence over the national legislation or the national policy as the two hundred voters who reside in the other State.

For example, let us compare some of the Southern States with those of the Northern States which come somewhat near them in population on the basis of the last census. If we take the whole population of each State as the number which measures the right of representation, and suppose that the white men alone of the Southern States cast the votes of the States, a brief calculation will show that every hundred of the white inhabitants of South Carolina will have as much power through their representatives as two hundred and forty of the people of Iowa; one hundred white men in Mississippi will equal two hundred and twenty-three men in Wisconsin; one hundred white men in Louisiana will equal one hundred and ninety-eight in Maine; one hundred white men in Alabama will equal one hundred and eighty-three in Connecticut; and one hundred white men in Alabama and Louisiana together will equal one hundred and eighty-nine in Indiana. It is, therefore, apparent that if, as the Constitution requires, the colored men of the South are all counted in to measure the right of representation, and are then all disfranchised, this must operate a proportional disfranchisement of the people of the North and West. How long can it be believed that this inequality will be endured? On what right or reason does it rest? If it be that the colored race of the South are all wholly disfranchised because wholly unfit for the right of suffrage, is it also true that the white voters of South Carolina are about two and a-half times better fitted to exercise this right wisely and patriotically than the people of Iowa?

In the above estimate, it has been assumed that the number of white voters bears about the same proportion to the whole number of the white population in all the States. The results above stated would be somewhat affected in some of the free States by the fact that in them colored persons who do not vote are enumerated to determine the number of representatives; but in none of them is their number sufficient to make a material difference—probably not enough to offset the larger proportionate loss of the white men of the South than of the colored men in the war.

SUFFRAGE.

The class from whom we should withhold the right to cast their votes are enthusiastically loyal; and the class whom alone we should permit to vote, and to whom we also give the votes of the other class, have maintained with marvellous unanimity, and with remorseless determination, broken only by utter defeat, a war which had for its single object escape from that Union which they hated. And we are now asked by this last class to withhold all political right and power from that class whose loyalty is certain, who will vote by its inspiration on the great national questions offered to them, and especially as to the great burden of our debt, which they can never forget was the price of their freedom. And we are asked not merely to confine the privilege of voting to the disloyal class, but to invest them with the votes of the disfranchised; and thus to double the political strength of that class so lately in fierce rebellion, and which cannot be expected, if human nature is with them what it is elsewhere, to be now or very soon animated by a love of our common country; and especially in regard to our great debt, must be expected to feel it, not as a burden only, but a burden a thousandfold heavier because it was incurred for their defeat; and, therefore, it must be feared, will be disposed to assail it through all the years that it may rest upon us; to assail the debt, the taxation necessary to sustain it, and so the credit and good faith and prosperity of the country.

It would be a strange thing if we had not the right to be more just than to do so great a wrong, and more wise than to expose the country to such dangers. Was it wrong in the Government to abolish slavery? and is it wrong now in you to insist upon its abolition? Certainly, unless we had and have a right to do so. But what right can any one imagine, excepting that which arose from our military power, coupled with our necessity, or a due regard to our security? The right thus founded was and is a perfect right. And the Government has, and you, as its military and executive head, have, an equally perfect right resting on precisely the same foundations, and of precisely the same extent, to require and to insist that political rights in those States shall not be determined by race or color, if the safety and security of the country require such a provision.

Justice is always the most expedient thing we can do, although it may not always be possible to see how it is expedient. In this present case we can. We have passed through a war marked by the most deadly conflicts of history. We needed absolutely and we at last yielded to the necessity of asking military aid from the colored race; and when we ask it, gladly did they hear and answer. No man doubts that the army of colored men was useful to us; although we may not say as the defeated rebels say,—it was that which turned the scale, and made their defeat inevitable. If we ask what does justice now demand for the race which rendered us this valuable assistance, the answer certainly would not be, that we should use the victory which they helped us to win, to cast them helpless and powerless by disfranchisement into the hands of those who were enemies of the Union, and whom the assistance they have rendered to us has made their enemies.

THE NEGROES.

But if this be the answer of justice, that of expediency is quite as certain. There are conflicts of peace, as well as conflicts of war. In the conflicts which threaten us, we shall need their ballots quite as much as we needed their bullets in the conflicts of war. The questions are curiously similar. We felt that we needed—we waited until we were compelled to feel that we needed—their assistance in the war, before we accepted it; but when we accepted it victory came with it—certainly with it, whether because of it or not. And again we need their aid. If we permit, in the conflicts that await us, the assistance they will gladly give, it will certainly add greatly to the safety and the strength of our country. If we reject it, we can do so only by a wrong, of which the retribution must be to lessen our strength and increase our danger, and, may be, to defeat and destroy those interests upon which the prosperity and the good faith of the country are founded; to defeat and destroy those interests because we see fit to take from the loyal the force which of right belongs to them, and give it all to the disloyal, to increase their strength.

Nor let it be said that we cannot be sure that the colored voters will not be led in the exercise of their rights by the whites. For, in the first place, it is certain that they will not all be so led. Men, whether from ambition or patriotism, will be candidates on the side of the national honor and the national interests, and will seek the votes of colored men, and slavery is not there to prevent the use of sufficient means for acquainting the voters with the true nature of the questions before them. If white men control the votes of colored men, then, if the whites are divided, the colored men will be divided; and, if the whites vote all together, they will be no stronger if all the colored men vote with them. On large plantations the relation of employer and employed may operate, to some extent, to give to the owner some undue control of the laborers. So it has been said that our large mill-owners and others employing many workmen held them in political bondage. If this mischief existed in any place, or to any extent, it has certainly been greatly exaggerated in some minds; but he who thought the worst of it never imagined that he found in it a reason for disfranchising any class of our laboring men. The white men of the South know better than we can whether, if the colored men vote, white men can control their votes; and if they really believe that they shall effectually control them, their determined opposition to freedman suffrage indicates an indifference to their own power, and a willingness to lose what would be an instrument in their hands, which is, to say the least, very remarkable.

We have had and exercised a perfect right to emancipate the slaves, growing out of our necessity; but this gave us no right whatever to emancipate them for our security and to their danger, for our own benefit and perhaps to their destruction. And who can deny that a new danger, and an appalling one, hangs over that race if, on the one hand, we take from them all protection and defence they found in slavery, while it made it the interest of their owners to take care of them, and, on the other, take from them by disfranchisement all power of self protection and self-defence? Already we see, and by no means dimly, in the measures adopted or proposed in some of those States, while still held in strict military possession, what kind of legislation over and against the colored race must be expected when the nation has abandoned all power to annul or check it, and has given no power to that race to resist it. Can this be honest, or prudent, or safe? Can we endure the disgrace of calling on that race to go with our own loyal soldiers to peril and to death, and after they have fought our battles, leave them utterly disfranchised?

INTERCOURSE.

It is to be hoped that commercial relations and commercial intercourse may be fully established between the South and the North, and as connected with this, and necessary to it, free and kindly, social and personal intercourse. All must remember how these things have stood for many years. Liberty of speech was wholly lost. Whoever went from a free State to a slave State, went in peril of his life; a peril, it is true, to be easily guarded against by one to whom it was easy to conceal his thoughts or falsify them, or by one whose opinions and feelings could be moulded by his interests and who, coming from a home of freedom, could act and speak as a lover of slavery, and so purchase his safety, and with it the contempt of the better class among them who tolerated him. Instances which cannot be forgotten proved that, for the Northern man, there was no freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the courts. All this, it may be said, was caused by slavery, and slavery is gone. But if slavery has left behind it vast class distinctions; if to the master class is left the whole power of legislating to preserve and deepen these distinctions; to the same class which will possess the power of moulding society and all its feelings and usages into that form which shall give the utmost possible force and permanence to these distinctions and the political supremacy they confer—is it not certain that what has been will return again? that the abyss between the thought and feeling of the free States and of the slave States, which no man could pass over, will still be open and kept open? Is it not certain that both social and commercial intercourse will be hampered and obstructed? Is it not sad that when enough of treasure and of blood have been cast into this abyss to close it, and this country has but to say this day, let it be closed, and it will be closed, there can be any danger that we may say, No, let it still be open, still be the barrier that it has been?

We suppose there are in the free States few who think, and very few who would say, the colored race are such by nature that they should be permanently disfranchised. We hear and read only that they are now wholly unfit for the right of suffrage; and we must wait until they are better prepared, and then give it to them. If they who say this mean it, they must desire that they be prepared, and then receive it. But we would ask them what preparation, what improvement can be hoped for, when the whole power of legislation, and the whole power of determining the relations between these classes, is given to the master-class, and is given to them on the condition that they retain this supremacy only so long as they can prevent all preparation and all improvement? Distant, very distant, will that generation be which sees the race enfranchised if we leave them disfranchised!

And, viewing the question in its most general form, is it not plain that the nation cannot do so great a wrong without exposing itself to an equal penalty? Slavery was protected by the Constitution; we endured it, and we had much excuse for enduring it; we could reach it only by breaking down the law; and the reverence for law in our country is as just and salutary as it is powerful; and in this instance it was, or was thought to be, fortified by interest. Now all this barrier has gone. The right, the justice, the expediency, are all united. We have said, by that right, slavery shall be no more, and it is no more. We have but to say in the same right, slavery shall not leave behind it disfranchisement; and it will not. How can we say instead, slavery shall not die, but shall only change its skin and live on in all its venom? How can we say slavery we will not have, but we will accept disfranchisement, and permit it to do the work of slavery? How can we say this and do this in utter antagonism of every principle of our American institutions, and to that settled opinion and feeling which has been gradually growing for generations in the free States, until it drove slavery into rebellion? How can we say this and do this, and not be sure that we leave to our children and to their children abiding and disastrous conflicts and probable convulsion?

EXPEDIENCY OF DELAY.

But while we think that the importance of this question is inexpressible, we admit that its difficulties are great. They are so mainly for two reasons—the unpreparedness of the population of the rebel States, either to resume their old rights, or to exercise new rights, safely for themselves or for the country, *at present*, and certainly not without patient and cautious considerations as to what restrictions or limitations upon those rights are requisite and proper. The other reason is the unpreparedness of the free States to decide at once, and finally, this great question which has sprung upon us by the sudden collapse of the rebellion. Public opinion is rapidly ripening. It is beginning to see that the true question is, whether, in such a country as this, political rights should be dependent on race or color. Men are ranging themselves on one side or other of this question. We think, however, that the people cannot now be ready, not merely to decide this general question, but to see clearly the details and consequences which belong to any determination of it. The inference we draw is the certain and absolute necessity of delay, of patient, calm, and sufficient delay, before the country comes to such practical conclusions as will take from the whole country all power to retrace its steps or amend its errors; for when those States are rehabilitated in all their constitutional rights, there can be no further interference with their internal concerns. State rights remain unimpaired, just what they were, in fact, although not what some thought they were, before the rebellion.

Those States do not now possess and exercise those rights. You have, most properly in the judgment of all men, appointed provisional governors for them; although, if a state has any right at all, it is to elect its own governor. You have prescribed who shall vote at the election of a convention, and have interfered in important particulars with the right of suffrage. You did all this because you had the power to do it, and because the safety and security of the country required you to do it, and gave you a perfect right to do it. We do not see now it can be doubted that you have both the power and the right to interfere further, and on the same grounds, with the same right of suffrage, either by restriction or by enlargement.

Let us compare the possible harm with the probable good of delay, and even, should it be necessary, a somewhat protracted delay. The authorities you have provided, and who will act under your constant oversight, will do nothing to obstruct or retard the returning prosperity of those States. All their judicial and municipal institutions may be reorganized and made operative. Let time do its beneficial work, and your power be exerted, if need be, to prevent regulations or practices certainly wrongful, and all the channels of trade will be opened and filled, the new relations between the inhabitants of those states, with the new rights they give and the new duties they impose will be understood and acknowledged. Labor will be encouraged, compensated, and made productive of—and will be seen to be productive of—benefit to employer and employed. Where war has passed along, leaving behind it destruction, the renovating power of peace will cover the traces of desolation, and the wounds of war, if they do not wholly heal, will at least ache less. If you now permit those States to resume the full exercise of all their former rights, and give up those rights to white men, you give them to men accustomed not to labor, but to despise labor; to men whose contempt and dislike of that part of the country which had not their peculiar institutions have been exasperated to intensity by a fierce and destructive war, ending with total defeat. Let time be granted them to become less passionate in their aversion; to begin, at least, to forget an irrecoverable past; to be reconciled to the inevitable; to acknowledge and understand, and make the best use of circumstances which cannot be changed. And the colored race will, in the meantime, have learned practically that the freedom given them is the freedom of voluntary self-support. Education, which many of them seek greedily; and habits of care for themselves, and those for whom they are bound to care; the possession of property by some; the possibility and the hope of acquiring it with more; all these and other causes, will raise them far above their present condition. And thus the beneficial influence of delay will make all classes of the inhabitants of those States better prepared than they now can be to have and to exercise all political rights, with advantage to themselves, and with safety to the country. We have no desire for, and we have no thought of, vengeance or punishment. It may, however, be said, when we remember the past, that those States, if dealt with so mildly, have no right to complain.

You have taken the ground that those States have now either no Constitutions, or none which the country can recognise; and you require them to bring to you new Constitutions. We cannot for a moment suppose that the new Constitutions they will offer will be regarded by you as going at once into force by their own power and efficacy, if only they are republican as judged by the standard of any State that did not enter into rebellion; for then they might include, by the example of Kentucky and Deleware, even slavery. It would seem to be certain that they must first be passed upon, adjudicated, and approved. And it would seem equally certain that, whatever be the tribunal which judges of them, if they do not contain the provisions, and all the provisions, which the safety and security of the whole country require, they must be rejected, and the States retained within military possession until such constitutions are presented.

Over the loyal States the country has no power and no right and no desire to exercise any power. Over the rebel States we have both power and right; our duty must be commensurate with our power and right; and both must be measured by the requirements of the best interests of the country. And, in offering these views for your consideration, we beg leave to express our confidence in your judgment, your firmness, and your fidelity to duty.

DIRECT FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—We have before us a private letter from an original and constant Unionist of the State, which gives a most discouraging view. The writer says that "The appointment of W. W. Holden as Provisional Governor was very objectionable because he had done more for the disunion party than any other man in the State; that he was a very strong opponent to every Fremont man in 1856; that he was one of the immortalized number who voted the ordinance of secession; and that it is believed he would have continued in the same course had he proved to be a favorite of Jeff. Davis."

The writer proceeds to say that in the approaching convention "the rebels will have the majority; that they have got the control of Holden." "The N. C. Standard, Gov. Holden's organ, calls upon the Union men to stand firm in opposition to what is called negro suffrage." He then proceeds as follows:

"Now suffrage is the only thing that will give the Union men the control. Leave the matter as it is, and the secessionists are just as much in power as though the South had gained her independence. I am a candidate for the convention, and if elected I intend to introduce negro suffrage—if it costs me *my life*. From the prospects there is no chance for any but a secessionist; and I would rather go through with four years more of war than submit to their rule. Three-fourths of the civil appointments made are of the secession class. The police appointed are two-thirds disloyal; and many of the magistrates are of the same class.

"A man who went in the U. S. army from North Carolina is looked upon as being unworthy any office from the fact that he was a 'Buffalo,' as they term it. The officers of these police use this argument.

"This is a kind of loyalty I cannot understand. I don't know what to make out of such management as we have here in North Carolina by the civil authorites."—*Boston Transcript.*

SHALL THE SOUTH BE CLEARED OF COLORED TROOPS.

From the New York Times.

THE Mississippi Convention has solicited the President, by memorial, to withdraw all colored soldiers from Mississippi; and Gov. Pierpont of Virginia, has recommended that the same course be taken in regard to that State. It is easy to foresee that the South generally will call for the same action. No people can relish being kept in order by armed forces made up of their former bondmen.

How shall this complaint be met?

The dangers in respect to social order spring from two sources—the remnants of the rebellion-spirit, and the ill-feeling between the white and black races. Of the rebellion-spirit there is probably too little left to produce, of itself, anything more than a mere local disturbance, even were all the government troops, white and black, withdrawn. The revival of a wide-spread rebellion throughout the South is, at the present time, both a moral and physical impossibility. Possibly some particular act of the national authority might be resisted by mob-violence, or guerilla warfare, in particular towns or districts, but the general spirit of the South, whether it be loyal or disloyal, is certainly a spirit of submission. For the mere purpose of preventing any local outbreaks against the government, but few soldiers, at most, can be necessary. But the case is different in regard to the maintenance of order between the two races. Their old relations were so suddenly disrupted that, even with the best spirit on both sides, they could not be readjusted to mutual satisfaction without great difficulty. But this difficulty is vastly aggravated by the disposition to coerce and oppress and persecute, which, in many cases, possesses the whites; and, by the distrust, more or less general, which rills the hearts of the blacks, coupled with the natural intoxication of fresh freedom, collisions between the races have already occurred. If these outrages occur when there are near at hand Provost-Marshals to arrest the guilty parties, and troops to enforce the punishments they may pronounce, there would surely be great danger in withdrawing the troops altogether. It is the duty of the government to avoid any such danger. It would be nothing short of a high crime in the government to take any action which should compel the freedmen to choose between submission to flagrant wrongs and bloody resistance.

If it be said that the use of the troops to protect the blacks from the whites only alienates the latter all the more from the Government, and prevents all growth of loyalty, it does not affect the duty of the Government. *The loyalty that can thrive only in oppression is not worth the cultivating.* Every true American must loathe and spurn it. If it ever really comes to this, that loyalty can only be had from the Southern whites at the price of full license to inflict wrong upon the freedmen, and to bring on a social war against them, then we shall have to renounce all expectation of that loyalty, and look only to the colored race and to the military power for the support of the national authority in the South. This is the plain truth of the matter, and it cannot be too clearly understood.

The Government is first of all bound to secure public order throughout the South—an order involving not only civil subordination, but peaceful relations between the races. To withdraw the troops is to abandon that duty, *unless* the Southern people shall have previously shown a desire and determination to maintain such order. Hitherto the Southern people have failed to do this. Their general temper and bearing have not been such as to justify the belief that the weaker race would receive its legitimate rights, and that the two races would live in harmony, in the absence of all military intimidation. As this temper and bearing are changed for the better, the necessity of continuing the garrisoning of the South will disappear. When this shall be, it lies for the Southern people themselves to determine. Until they so act as to inspire the Government with a moral assurance that they can be depended upon to maintain the public order by voluntarily fulfilling all the civil and social duties incident to their new position, they will have no right to complain that Government troops are still kept amongst them. They have no grievance outside of their own wilfulness.

NEW FASHIONED LAW.

[The following is from the Nashville correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. The scene is Gen. Fisk's Military court and the time recent.]

AN old and highly respected citizen of Giles county, named Abernethy—a good Methodist, by the way—refused to pay his colored laborers the wages he had agreed to pay them, and, as a last resort, two of the most intelligent of his employ.s came into the Freedmen's Court, made oath to the contract and to the fact of non-payment, and an order was accordingly issued to bring the venerable patriarch into court to answer. When the order reached the old gentleman he was astonished beyond measure, and, doubtless, would not have deigned to respond to it had not a guard been present to enforce it. His neighbors, of course, were greatly excited. The venerable old Abernethy arrested and ordered to report forthwith at Nashville! Dispatches were sent to the city, and when he arrived he was met at the depot and escorted to Gen. Fisk's headquarters by a respectable body of old citizens, whose woe-begone countenances indicated the deep disgust and horror which swelled their chivalrous bosoms. Arrived at headquarters:

Abernethy—Is this Gen. Fisk?

Gen. F.—Yes, sir.

A.—I should like to know what *I* am brought here for?

Gen.—Very well give me your name, and I can probably inform you.

A.—*My* name is Abernethy, sir.

Gen.—Abernethy. Yes, I remember. Two *citizens* of Giles county, *neighbors* of yours, Mr. A., have appeared and made oath to a very grave complaint against you.

A.—*Citizens* of Giles county! *Neighbors* of mine!! Good heavens, who can it be!!!

"I will read the declaration," said the General, as he took the document from a pigeon hole, and began: "Joseph and Paul Abernethy, of the county of Giles, in the State of Tennessee, being duly sworn, do testify," etc., etc. As the reading proceeded the old gentleman's eyes fairly bulged out, and he looked the very picture of amazement. At length, unable to restrain himself any longer, he exclaimed, "Lor' bless my soul, General, them arn't my neighbors, them's my niggers." "You are mistaken, Mr. A.," replied the General, "there are no such persons in Tennessee now as 'your niggers.' Joseph and Paul Abernethy are citizens of Tennessee, and one of them claims even a nearer relation to you; and the striking resemblance he bears to you gives countenance to the claim."

This home-thrust cut the old man to the heart, and he covered his face with his hands, bowing his head for some time. At length he said: "Well, General, what are you going to do about it!" "I am going to do *justice*," he replied. "Do you owe these men the amount they claim? If you do, you must pay it."

The old gentleman came down at once, acknowledged the debt, and promised to call and settle the next day. The next day he came, paid the debt in full, and entered into a written contract with his employes for the future.

Another case illustrates the perverted moral sense of many of the people. A daughter of Hon. Felix Grundy came into court to procure an order for the return of "her nigger"—a little girl of ten or twelve years, a girl she had "raised from infancy" who had been taken away from her and brought to the city by its cruel *father!* The lady really seemed to think that a black parent who would take away "her nigger" and expose it even for a day to the contaminating society of the freedmen of Nashville, was a barbarian, a brute—almost a devil!

Cases of this kind, and they are of hourly occurrence in the South, should convince the most skeptical people of the North that it will never do to commit the colored people of the South to the care of the white people. You might as well commit the lamb to the keeping of the wolf.

SCHOOLS.

Gen. Fisk expects to have two hundred teachers employed in his District by the beginning of October. The colored people are wide awake on the subject of educating their children. The other day, at a public meeting in Edgefield, addressed by the General, enough money was contributed to build and furnish a good school-house. And we are beginning to have the right kind of colored Sunday Schools here, too. Libraries are coming into requisition. Our colored friends will soon have their County and State Sabbath-School Conventions. So in grief, and tears, and toil, "John Brown's soul is marching on."

THE CONFEDERATE DEBT.

From the Evening Post.

SOME years ago a burglar, captured by the police when only reconnoitring a house which probably he intended to rob, was released from arrest for want of proof against him. When taken, he had with him a number of the tools of his profession, which the police retained, whereupon the fellow, in a rage, threatened to sue the authorities for their value. Modesty or prudence kept him from carrying his threat into effect; but a somewhat similar case, in England, has been just brought before the courts.

We printed a few days ago, in the foreign news, the account of a trial before the British Vice-Chancellor Wood, involving the possession of certain cotton, which was claimed by the United States, and also by an English creditor of the late "Southern Confederacy."

While there was yet a "Southern Confederacy," that organization by various means, acquired cotton which it used to obtain goods and credit in Europe. During the war, of course, whatever of this "Confederate cotton" fell into the hands of our Government was lawful prize. When the war ceased by the destruction of the "Confederacy," whatever property it had owned became by law the property of the United States.

Now it happened that a certain cargo of Confederate cotton was run out of a Southern port and arrived at Liverpool after the war had ceased. It was the property of an owner who had deceased, and his natural heir stepped in to possess it—that is to say, the United States laid claim to the cotton. But this claim was resisted by Mr. Prioleau, of the notorious firm of Fraser, Trenholm, & Co., the agents in Liverpool of the rebel organization, to whom the cotton had been consigned.

If they had acted only as consignees, of course their sole business would have been to hand over the property to the heirs of the defunct owners; but they went a good deal further, for they set up a claim of ownership in the cotton, as creditors of the "Southern Confederacy." That is to say, they asserted their right to reimburse themselves out of its sale for debts owed to them by the rebel authorities.

The Vice-Chancellor's decision was not final; he authorized Trenholm & Co. to sell the cotton, as receivers, and give security for the amount of the sale, remarking that, beyond a doubt, "when a *de facto* government came to an end its property became that of its successor." But he added his opinion, "subject to any argument to be hereafter adduced when the cause was thoroughly heard, that these successors to such *de facto* government were bound by the agreement of those to whom they succeeded."

This hint that the United States must pay the debts if it claims the property of the "Southern Confederacy" probably inspired a little hope in the hearts of the despondent English holders of Confederate bonds; but silly as these persons are, they appear to have had sense enough to see that the chances of successfully pushing their claims before the United States Government are very slight indeed. Confederate bonds did not rise in price when the Vice-Chancellor's remark became public. To hold that we are bound to pay the debts of the "Confederacy" would in effect be to declare that a conqueror is bound to reward the allies of his enemy.

The Vice-Chancellor was led away by the seeming parallel between the position of the United States towards the Confederacy and that of an heir towards the person from whom he he inherits. But in this case the creditors have no rights; their transactions with the Confederacy were illegal; in engaging in them they voluntarily placed themselves beyond the protection of the laws; and if their claim were to be allowed, a manufacturer of "jimmies" and skeleton keys might bring suit against the superintendent of police for the value of the tools he had furnished to a burglar now in the hands of justice.

The question of the Confederate debt is, however, not yet laid. In several of the Southern States, and notably in North Carolin, we notice that it is proposed to adopt certain parts of the Confederate debt; and it is not impossible, if we may believe some Southern journals, that it will become a leading question—until it is settled by a vote of the people—in two or three at least of those States. If the people of any State choose to assume, besides their regular burdens, such an extra load, of course no one outside the State could object; but we think this far from likely. It is not impossible, however, that the holders of this debt, at home and abroad, will try to procure for it, on some pretence or other, some kind of recognition by the United States.

DEFRAUDING THE NEGROES.

IN a recent trial before the Freedman's Court in the Nashville Department, the following facts were elicited in the testimony of one of the colored men:

On the 1st of April my old master proposed that if I would take the negroes that formerly belonged to him and make him a good crop, he would give us half of all that was raised.

We were to put in forty acres of cotton, fifty acres of corn, six acres of sorghum, and two of vegetables, all of which we did. Some weeks afterward he told us that he could not give us half the produce, but told us:

"I will make a new contract with you, and give you one-third of all you raise on my farm."

We agreed to this in good faith, and one week after that time he said he would not give one-third; that he did not have in a crop to justify him in giving any portion of it; and then said he wanted ten more acres of corn put in, which we agreed to do, provided he would give us one-third as he agreed to do, in his second contract. To this he replied that he would not give us any portion of it. He then said he was going to employ a new man to attend to his business. The overseer came, and we asked him what he was going to give us. He said that our master said he would give us fifteen dollars a month, and would take our provisions and clothing out of our wages. If we did not hire on these terms we must leave the place. We studied the matter over, and concluded that on account of our wives and children we would stay and make a third contract with our master. One week after this he came to us and said:

"I will not give you fifteen dollars a month."

We asked him what he would give, and he answered:

"I will not tell you what I will give you; I will give you just what I please, and no more."

This took place during the present year, 1865.

In 1864 our master told us to raise him five acres of corn, and we might raise as much cotton as we wanted; that if he raised any the Yankees would take it from him. Afterward he told us he wanted four acres of cotton for himself. We raised it, ginned and baled it for him separated from our own cotton. He then marked our cotton in his own name, and told us he was obliged to do this because we were not allowed to sell any cotton. We had five bales of cotton, averaging five hundred pounds each, which he took to Nashville, sold, and kept all the money except one hundred and fifty dollars which he got in goods. We also raised eight hundred bushels of corn, which he used and sold for his own benefit, and would not let us use any of it unless we paid him for it. We gathered and gave him five acres of corn, which we had raised for him.

GEN. LEE has been extolled by secessionists and all kinds of traitors in the North, as a great general, a pink and pattern of the chivalry, an exemplary gentleman. But we look in vain for the proof of any one of these allegations, in the actual life of the man. What are the great battles that he has won? Where are the evidences of his chivalry and gentility? They are illusive. A cold-blooded, commonplace, in every sense mediocre man, save in that quality of animal courage which he shares with the bull-dog, he stands before us to-day blackened by inhumanities for which language has no name.

That this man, who has violated his parole by words of cheer and treason to his own soldiers when he sent them to their homes, by insolently nobing a sort of levee in his house in Richmond, and declaring and defending his treason in the presence of United States armies—that this man should be allowed, on the specified grounds, to go scot free, is indeed a refinement of the sensibility of honor. If it be proper and fitting that the brutal murderer who kept the Andersonville prison should be tried for his life, and he but an instrument in the hands of Davis and Lee, upon what ground ought either of these—the intellectual originators of the entire scheme of cruelty which weiters with the blood of Union soldiers all over the Confederacy—upon what ground ought either of these to escape?—*Chicago Republican.*

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS AT THE SOUTH.

From the Boston Transcript.

THE Constitutional Conventions that will soon meet in most of the Southern States will be remarkable assemblages, not only from their composition but because of the sentiments of the constituency electing them. These conventions will be chosen for the purpose of restoring the harmonious working of the national and local machinery of government throughout the seceded sections of the Union. They are to arrange the preliminaries for the practical acknowledgment by the people of the paramount authority of the general government. It would seem that the way to do this was to elevate to office only Union men, or at least, moderate secessionists, easily induced to renew their former support of the Union.

But the entire South has taken a different course. If it was a unit in batting against the country, there now appears to be no break in the public sentiment demanding that armed rebels shall have the prevailing voice in "reconstructing" the institutions of the several Southern States. Even North Carolina, which is supposed to have a "weakness" for Unionism, is fast reorganizing on a basis, if recent events can be believed, which will leave Gov. Holden and his friends in an inglorious minority. These traitors must be ungrateful, or why should they entertain such suspicion of Holden? Does not he recommend the pardon of everybody who can be worked into his plan of restoration? Has not he set himself up as the gubernatorial guardian of the colored race, to preserve them from the pestiferous besetting sin of their former masters,—idleness? Had he been sufficiently brave would he not have spent his last dollar to humble the "stars and stripes?" Holden, Perry, and others like them, are "marvellous proper men" to bring a recusant people back to loyalty, as none can know better than they the secret springs which produced the torrent of disloyalty.

The members of the convention must smile grimly at each other as they meet. After swallowing the amnesty oath, and all other oaths, with as much speed as possible, they will proceed to business, regarding the obligations they have taken as only a necessary formality to be temporarily borne. How agreeable it will be to them, after two or three years of war's alarms and sufferings, to be enabled, as in days past, to carry on their plottings against the government while enjoying its protection! What congratulations they will exchange that the North has only interposed a few trifling oaths in the way of their rapid re-incorporation into the Union! It would not be strange if, with these congratulations, there should mingle occasional scornful jests that the "Yankees" have so readily put themselves into a position where the South can repeat the "confidence game" of former times.

NORTH CAROLINA "LOYALTY."

[The following is extracted from a letter of Col. H. V. N. Boynton to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and contains the summing up of his observations during an extended tour. The writer is commended by the *Gazette* as trustworthy.]

LEXINGTON, N. C., July 31.

AFTER a ride of nearly two hundred miles through the counties west of the North Carolina Railroad, our little party has reached the first military post since it left Salisbury. The incidents of travel from the region of Pilot Mountain, by the way of Danbury, Germantown, and Winston, have not differed materially from the outward journey. The association with people of all classes has been most intimate. The object of the tour on the part of the authorities was to organize police forces, so as to secure the interests of loyal men and prevent unwarranted persecution of those who have been disloyal. This duty made it necessary to ascertain the views and feelings of both parties.

THE UNION ELEMENT.

It is only by a system of constant cross-questioning, that a correct opinion concerning this element can be reached. The majority now claim to be Union. It is very difficult to hear of an original secessionist, except Gov. Holden—there is no difference of opinion on that subject. In fact, at the first election, only about one in ten of the votes cast were in favor of secession; but when the State went out, but a small proportion remained steadfast. Yet, on the ground of having opposed secession at the outset, and only becoming rebels when the State withdrew, a very large number are asserting that they have been Unionists ever since, at heart.

Still, where communities are as small as in this section, it was easy to learn the whole history of any man, as it stood related to the question of the war.

Except in a few instances, Unionism is a negative quality in all the low country which we traversed. It involves no love for the old flag, and only the respect for its authority which a wholesome fear inspires. It consists of thankfulness that the tyranny of rebel rule is removed, that conscription is ended, and the fear of the ranks is no longer before the eye. It is as deeply prejudiced against all the measures of the Government concerning the negroes as the bitterest rebels. This is natural, but still demands the close attention of the authorities. On this question the class which calls itself Union will heartily unite with those who still glory in the term of rebel. But as the country rises toward the mountains, even as the air becomes purer and more bracing, so Union sentiment becomes healthier and stronger.

HOW GOV. HOLDEN IS REGARDED.

It is a strange fact that all factions, except the very small one at the control of the Governor, agree exactly in their opinions concerning his appointment. This matter was referred to in these letters in June last, and extensive travel through the State has since confirmed the views then given.

The opinion of ninety-nine out of one hundred is this: That there is scarcely a public man in the State who has not equal claims upon the authorities at Washington; and the universal feeling is that he did more to bring about secession than any fifty men in the State—and this is well grounded.

Mr. Holden had never been a Union man up to the few weeks previous to his appointment. He was one of the ablest editors in the South, and from the time that he was old enough to comprehend the doctrines of secession and nullification, as propounded by Calhoun, he had been their earnest and consistent supporter. In this matter he stood almost alone in the State, or head and shoulders above all who held similar views. When the war began he was the first in his paper to pledge the last man and the last dollar to putting down the national structure. He ran on what was called a Union ticket during the war. It was an issue of his own creation, involving the very smallest amount of anything that could be construed into Unionism, and chiefly made to make him Governor. This has been the aim of his life—a very commendable ambition, if the means used had been honest and proper.

But all this might have been overlooked by the Union men of the State if, in the very first steps towards reconstruction, power had not been placed in the hands of those who, when the war began, were in sympathy with himself. He has the confidence of no class, and yet all who really desire to aid the Government will support him, because, in a sense, he represents the Government, unless a more acceptable candidate can be selected and

induced to run. The Union men are thus placed in a most unpleasant position, feeling that they must help elect a man in whom they have no confidence, or lay themselves open to the charge of opposing the Government.

THE DISLOYAL ELEMENT.

The idea that as the war has closed there are no longer any rebels, is most absurd. They are just as numerous, and far more dangerous, than when they carried a flag and marched to the thunder of cannon and the rattle of musketry. There are two classes among the politicians of the body—those who have suddenly turned Union and are using all their cunning to get into power again—and those who deem their past conduct a bar to receiving office. This latter class is small. The body of the citizens who are not aspirants for place are unchanged in feeling, except as their bitterness has been increased by defeat, and their defiance strengthened by the lenient course upon which the authorities seem bent. They attribute this alone to fear, and consequently begin to talk in the old boastful and arrogant way. This large class, unable as yet to vent its spite upon those in power, is everywhere expending its wrath upon the unoffending blacks, and thus indirectly defying the Government.

The defiant spirit of this class—involving, as it does, the largest body of the citizens—is becoming stronger every day, and at such a rate as only those who watch it daily can estimate. The disunion sentiment of North Carolina will have to decrease at a very rapid rate to allow the withdrawal of troops from the State, with any safety to the Government, for a year to come.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRACY.

WITH a unanimity which shows the marvellous perfection of its political drill, the Democratic party, in its successive State Conventions, is wheeling into line in support of President Johnson. The purposes of the Democratic leaders are so far matured that concealment and subterfuge are no longer necessary or expedient. Maine gave the key note at its Democratic Convention of Aug. 15th, pledging its "cordial support to President Johnson in the policy which he has avowed." Ohio followed on the 24th, with a resolution to "stand by President Johnson in all constitutional efforts to restore to the States the exercise of their rights and powers within the Union." Pennsylvania Democracy on the same day recorded its avowal of "support to President Johnson in every just effort he may make to place all the States in their proper positions to give them a fair representation in Congress, and to save them from the curse of negro equality." New York is to keep step to that music on the 6th, its Democratic leaders having already controlled, in a great measure, the conventions of the other States, and intending to pronounce still more emphatically for the President in their assemblage at Albany.

The papers which do the political thinking for the party utter but one voice. The Boston *Post* is "rejoiced to find, what we had good reason to expect, that the proceedings of the Maine Democratic Convention have struck a chord to which immediate and hearty response is making by the Democracy in all the Northern States," and tenders the President its assurance that he "will find no more sure and steadfast co-workers, in the gigantic task of healing the wounds of a bleeding nation, than he will find among the Democrats of the loyal States." The *World* suffers no day to pass without an ostentatious proclamation of its complete sympathy with the President in his present policy. It declares for itself: "We can fight the battle under his banner, and put the Republicans in the position of acting in hostility to a chief magistrate elected by their own votes"—and testifies for its fellow-conspirators—"The most intelligent portion of the Democratic press—including, in fact, almost every newspaper—takes the same hopeful view of President Johnson which we were the first to express and have never seen any good reason to abandon." The Chicago *Times* boasts that the policy of the President is dependent for its success on the coöperation of the Democrats, and that he may be relied on to go through with it. "To abandon it would be to stultify himself as no public man in this country has ever done. To abandon it would be to throw himself wholly into the arms of the most radical Abolitionists. We must have better evidence than we have yet seen to suspect for an instant that there is the remotest possibility of the abandonment of his position. He may go far to satisfy the Radicals in other and less material respects, but on this question of reorganization he has planted himself firmly, and we believe immovably, upon the rock of the Constitution. Let us not doubt him." And the *World* goes so far as to say, this very week, "that to suspect Mr. Johnson of an intention to abandon his reconstruction policy is the same as *to suspect him of a wish to commit political suicide*"—which is simply an express notification to the President that the devotion of his new allies is solely contingent on his perseverance in his reconstruction policy.

Evidence that Andrew Johnson welcomes this support, and means to deserve it, is to be found in his persistence in a policy which he knows his own party does not approve, and that the Democratic party does approve. But take two other facts. It is publicly alleged and not denied in any journal of influence, that when the recently appointed Naval Officer in New York, Mr. Odell, heard that his nomination was likely to be made, he plainly notified the President that he had been and still was a Democrat, and if he took the office at all would take it only as a Democrat. The other fact is supplied by the Buffalo *Courier*, which makes the following uncontradicted statement:

"A prominent Democratic politician of Pennsylvania recently had an interview with President Johnson, and it so happened that he was ushered into the executive presence just as Senator Sumner was bowed out. The conversation which ensued took a wide scope, but the President made one frank declaration to which we wish to call attention. The Pennsylvanian, while assuring the President that the Democracy approved his restoration policy and his determination that the right of the States to control the question of suffrage for themselves should be respected, complained in strong terms of the usurpations of the War Department, and the trial of civilians by courts-martial organized to convict. The President replied: '*The matters of which you complain are of minor importance, and will be remedied in due time. The great thing to be done now is to restore the normal relations between the Southern States and the Government. To this all my energies are directed, and must continue to be until the meeting of Congress. In the carrying out of the plan I have adopted, I am opposed by the class of men of which Senator Sumner is a representative, and it is of the utmost importance that representatives in Congress from the Southern States should be in their seats, not only because they have a right to be there, but because their votes and coöperation are necessary to the restoration of the Union.*' The President said more to this effect, showing that he based his hope of success upon the coöperation of Southern members of Congress with conservative members from the North."

Now we do not mean to say that we believe the President has gone so far as to form in his own mind the resolution to break with the party which nominated him at Baltimore, and throw himself unreservedly into the power of the party which then was, and for three years had been, his bitter enemy. Events are not ripe for that consummation. But we affirm that ever since the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, at least one of the Republican leaders, who was like Johnson himself, formerly a Democrat, who has never felt quite at home among men some of whom were sincerely devoted to their principles, and who is one of the President's most intimate advisers, has been the ardent advocate of this scheme of apostasy. The private as well as the public influences surrounding the President are bad; yet nothing is so bad as his obstinate adherence to a policy which he knows must prove what his own party will deem a failure. There was a time when the Radicals had the game in their own hands. The temper of the country just after the assassination was very much what it was during the summer of 1861—ready for any measure that went to the root. In 1861 the whole North rose up as one man to cry amen to Fremont's noble proclamation—not even the Democratic papers opposing it. Then it was the fatal weakness of Abraham Lincoln that destroyed our hopes. In 1865, the country was all for negro suffrage as the necessary condition of reconstruction, and now, as before, the President's hand paralyzes the purpose of the North. But we cannot acquit the Radical Republicans of all responsibility for this last misfortune. They had it in their power to control the Administration, to put the ballot in the negro's hand, and to build up a Union on the indestructible basis of universal suffrage. But it is the misfortune of the Radical wing of the party that it lacks courage. At the critical moments it shrinks from taking the responsibility. It shrunk at that moment from the task of insisting on a policy, and left the President to attempt without opposition his North Carolina experiment. The Republicans, therefore, have themselves to thank for the peril which surrounds their administration. They will not even now confess that there is any peril. They have refused to put themselves squarely in opposition to a method of reconstruction the success of which they know involves their own defeat. If they venture in Convention on a criticism of the President's policy they blunt it by resolves to support the Administration nevertheless. They trust all to the coming Congress.

And yet the Radicals ought to be the first to see the drift of this Democratic conspiracy, and the readiest to oppose it. The Democrats are for Andrew Johnson, because his reconstruction policy tends to bring back into Congress and into the Union the old Southern allies of the Democracy, by whose help they expect to resume the government of the country. Consciously or unconsciously, willfully or ignorantly, the President is reorganising the Union in aid of that scheme. The policy of the Radicals would have given them a negro vote to counterbalance the disloyal vote, but the President prefers to see the spirit of disloyalty triumph in the South, and in the whole country, rather than see the ballot in the hands of the negro. He prefers an alliance with the Democracy for the sake of securing his own scheme of reconstruction, to the support of the Republicans on condition of following the principles of the party that elected him. It is that attitude of his, together with the assurances which Democratic leaders privately receive, which emboldens them in three successive Conventions to offer their right hands to the President, and fills them with hope that in Andrew Johnson they will find a second John Tyler—to be used for their own bonefit and the ruin of the country, and then to be contemptuously flung aside.

ORGANIZING THE HOUSE.

THE Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, known to the public as "Agate," to his friends as Mr. Whitelaw Reid, and to both as a trustworthy informant, makes an important statement of Mr. McPherson's views concerning the organization of the House. We quote the following from a recent letter:

"In the several theories of reorganization, the controlling power in the premises is variously supposed to be lodged sometimes in the President sometimes in Congress. The latter is likely to incline to the latter view; and in any event is not likely to permit members to be forced into the House and Senate until, in accordance with the constitutional guaranty, those bodies themselves have passed upon the claims of the applicants.

"But the law of the case is plain. It provides—in a resolution bunglingly worded, but prepared and passed with direct reference to such a contingency as an effort by a tricky clerk to flood the House with illegitimate members—that the Clerk 'shall make a roll, and place thereon the names of all persons, and of such persons only, *whose credentials show that they were regularly elected, in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States.*'—[Stat. at Large, Vol. XII. p. 804.

"On this it is clear:

"1st. That no 'law of the United States' authorizes the election of representatives in any of the insurrectionary States.

"2d. That no "law of any of the States" authorizes an election held at the call of a "Provisional Governor," and from which large numbers of legally recognized voters (the unsworn rebels) are excluded.

"How, then, can any names be placed on the roll as from these States?"

It is intimated in "Agate's" letter, and we are able to say positively, that the above is Mr. McPherson's own statement of his present opinion of the law. "I may add," says Agate, "that Mr. McPherson was a member of the House which passed the law above quoted, and that *I know* the above construction of it accorded with his views. Besides, he believes that there can be no legal government in any of the insurrectionary States until Congress recognizes it. Without legal government there can, of course, be no legal representatives to be placed on the roll, and admitted to vote at the organization, unless by betraying the cause of the country, and playing into the hands of the rebels whom we have just finished whipping—a course which Mr. McPherson is about the last man at the North to be likely to take."

We have gained one point, therefore; we have got Mr. McPherson on record, pledged by his own statement of the law, and by his voluntary declaration in addition to the law, *not* to put representatives from any of the insurrectionary States on the roll of the House prior to its organization. His view of the law is undoubtedly correct, and as he pledges himself to abide by the law, we thank him for his exposition of it. But whether the President will thank him, we doubt. Mr. McPherson's views of the obligation of law are one thing; the President's may be quite another. We have shown that, in order to start his North Carolina reconstruction experiment, the President deliberately violated a law clearer than that which Mr. McPherson quotes. He appointed Mr. Holden Provisional Governor, knowing that he was incompetent to take the oath which he was legally obliged to take; and the President, in order to make him Governor, nullified the law and dispensed with the oath. He was willing to do that for the sake of getting his reconstruction policy started; will he hesitate to do as much for the sake of ensuring its final success? The danger which Mr. Phillips pointed out does not disappear in consequence of Mr. McPherson's declaration. Giving to that declaration all credit for sincerity, we cannot dismiss our apprehension of an attempt by the President to intrude his reconstructed members into the House by some means. Suppose he directs the Attorney-General to give an opinion of the law contrary to Mr. McPherson's—will the latter be guided by his own views, or by those of the Constitutional legal adviser of the President? Andrew Johnson is a man of great resolution; if he makes up his mind that his reconstructed members shall take their seats in the next Congress, he will not permit himself to be thwarted without a tremendous effort. The vast influence and patronage of the Administration will be wielded, if necessary, solely for the accomplishment of that result, and we are by no means sure that even Mr. McPherson would be able to resist the pressure. At all events, so long as the President persists in his policy, the danger continues. Vigilance, courage, and resolute opposition, may save us the struggle wholly or give us victory when it comes; but a blind confidence in the faith of the Administration is simply an invitation to disaster.

THE Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, the first colored regiment organized at the North, has returned from service, and is to be immediately mustered out. Its place in history is secure. No colored regiment did more to give the colored troops their just place in public estimation, and no white regiment has a higher fame for discipline and courage.

MAYOR WALLACH of Washington resorts to a quibble in order to deny that he is seeking to defraud the colored schools of money rightfully due them. He alleges he has withheld no money which is due *by his construction of the law*. The facts are, as stated by the *Tribune* correspondent, that J. McClary Perkins, esq., who, by appointment of Congress, is one of the trustees for colored schools there, called upon him on Wednesday, and in answer to his demand was informed by the Mayor that no such funds were due under the law passed by Congress June, 1864, as, according to his construction of that act, it did not apply to taxes levied in August of that year, and that, in 1865, Washington raised no school fund, but pays for schools out of the real estate tax, notwithstanding the decision to the contrary by the Mayor of Georgetown, who, as previously stated, has already paid over the amount due the colored schools of that city.

Legal proceedings will soon be instituted against the contumacious Mayor to recover the funds referred to, and in the opinion of eminent jurists he will be compelled to pay the money.

THE Hartford *Press*, which used to be edited by a good Anti-Slavery man, Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, and is still a Radical Republican paper, says of Gen. Cox and his opinions on negro suffrage:

"He shows himself to be a narrow-minded politician. There is no difference between his position and that of the most bitter Democrat. He does not represent Ohio, and if the Republican party do not *repudiate him, and nominate another candidate*, they deserve *the defeat* we trust they will meet."

If the Ohio Republican papers which think the same thing would say the same thing Gen. Cox might be defeated or driven to resign in favor of a better man. But political expediency rules.

A NATIONAL ASSOCIATION under the title of the "American Freedmen's Aid Commission" has been organized in New York. Bishop Simpson was chosen President; Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John V. Farwell, Vice-Presidents; Fred. Law Olmstead, General Secretary; Jacob R. Sheperd, Associate Secretary, and George C. Ward, Treasurer, which officers, with J. Miller McKim and J. M. Walden, Corresponding Secretaries of the Eastern and Western Departments, consititute a Board of Managers. The Commission aims to coöperate with the Freedmen's Bureau.

The Rockingham (Virginia) *Register and Advertiser* of a late date has an article under the caption: "The President still a Democrat" in which it says that Judge Charles Mason, President of the National Democratic Resident Committee, in company with Col. Thomas B. Florence, editor of the *Constitutional Union*, and chairman of the same committee, and a Mr. Schade, a prominent lawyer of Washington, "had a very pleasant and satisfactory interview with President Johnson."

The Rockingham paper goes on to say:

"Mr. Johnson gave them to understand that he was a Democrat, had always been one; and that now he was too old a man to change his politics—*the country had more to fear 'from consolidation than secession;'* and that the States have rights that can not be ignored under the Constitution." The *Register* further says: "This has the ring of the true metal, and no doubt it will be the endeavor of Mr. Johnson to administer the Government for the benefit of the whole people, and not for any one class or order."

The Petersburg (Virginia) *Express* of August 16, quotes this and says:

"The facts as above stated are correct, as the interview alluded to did positively take place to our knowledge."

The Washington correspondent of the Boston *Journal* telegraphs the two following items. They may profitably be read together.

Two hundred and thirty-two out of less than 400 guests at one of the principal hotels here are Southerners seeking pardon.

At the dinner table at Willard's, Dr. Dandridge, a brother of Mrs. R. M. T. Hunter, and brother-in-law of Hon. Geo. Pendleton, remarked that the President ought to hang all the white neck-cloths—meaning the anti-slavery clergymen in the North—and that if he was not a coward he would at once issue a proclamation granting pardon to all who had participated in rebellion, irrespective of rank or station. Among the listeners was Chief-Justice Carter of the Supreme Court of this District.

FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TOWARD GRACE.

PHILADELPHIA, August 26, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: It requires so great resolution, and so much moral courage for a public man—a "politician"—to oppose or even mildly disapprove the Administration which he has helped to place in power, that it is not very surprising to observe how careful and guarded are the expressions of dissatisfaction with the reconstruction policy of President Johnson. Yet the indications of discontent are numerous in the eastern section of Pennsylvania. Let me cite you a few instances.

On the 14th inst. the Union County Convention in Montgomery was held. The body was composed of an excellent and intelligent class of men, and the following resolution concerning the policy at the South was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That with the rebellion suppressed, we fully approve those measures of President Johnson which have been taken to maintain the loyalty of the South, and we desire that no effort in that behalf shall be relaxed, but that the loyal citizens of the rebellious States shall be protected, preferred, and enfranchised in preference to their disloyal neighbors, and that the prominent traitors shall, by significant examples, be made to feel the enormity and incur the penalties of their crimes.

While the radicalism is pretty well "tucked in," doubtless with Jefferson's view of "keeping rear and front together," the language is significant.

Chester County met on the following day. The resolutions were reported by Wayne McVeagh, a young and earnest man, with liberal views and a comprehensive platform. The two following resolutions which close the series presented by him, are substantially the same which he reported at the Union State Convention, on the 17th, where he was again Chairman of the Resolution Committee. You have doubtless remarked their vigor, and considering all the circumstances, they are certainly fearless words for the Union party of Pennsylvania:

Resolved, That the experiment of President Johnson and the fruits it has borne as well in the election at Richmond as elsewhere, have compelled us to the conviction that his overtures have not been accepted in the spirit of honest loyalty and submission to the laws; but are being used by rebels and traitors to regain with the aid of their allies in the North the possession of political power.

Resolved, That the people lately in rebellion having forfeited their political rights, are not fit to be entrusted with suffrage until they have given convincing evidence of their acceptance of the lessons of the war by the reorganization of their labor in the interest of liberty and the adoption of such constitutional provisions as will serve as guarantees of their fidelity to the Union and the rights of all men within their borders to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It may be that there is no whisper in all these fine words, of citizenship for the loyal colored men, but if we can prevent the Southern States from being rushed into the community again, in the hands of the disloyal, we shall work out the other result in good time. Let me interpolate here a remark from a recent number of the *Bulletin*, of this city, a paper which generally sails pretty near to public opinion. Speaking of a recent indication of the rebel spirit, it says another evidence is added "to those already adduced, that the Government, in its magnanimous desire to restore to the South the privileges of citizenship, has gone faster and farther than the condition and temper of the Southern people warranted." Yours, BRUIN.

Among the recent applicants for pardon at the Presidential mansion, was a man who bore a letter to the President from a distinguished politician to the following purport: That the bearer was a poor man who was not possessed of the five hundred dollars which he understood was necessary to obtain such a document, and trusted to the generousness of the President to grant the pardon. In language and manner never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it, President Johnson declared that the letter was a gross and utterly unwarrantable outrage, not only upon himself but upon every member of his household, even to the lowest page in attendance. He ordered the man to be shown the door. Considering that a pardon *had* been granted—as we have elsewhere related—for five hundred dollars, it strikes us the President might have mitigated his wrath.

PERSONAL.

The President has requested Attorney-General Speed not to send any more pardon applications to him for the present.

Gen. Wilson has recently arrested Harris, the notorious keeper of bloodhounds at Andersonville, and sent him to Washington for trial.

Gen. Fremont, at the head of a company of Eastern capitalists, is about to embark in the business of manufacturing railroad iron. The company has purchased extensive tracts of mineral land in Missouri.

The rebel Gen. Ewell is besieging the Attorney General's office for his wife's pardon—his conjugal affection being strengthened by her possession of a large estate which is liable to confiscation.

Hon. J. Warren Merrill, Mayor of Cambridge, Mass., has given $10,000 to Waterville College to endow the Professorship of Natural History and Chemistry. The trustees of the College have voted to name the Professorship after the donor.

Among the honorary marks of distinction conferred at the jubilee of the Vienna University, the degree of Doctor in Philosophy was awarded to Mr. John Stuart Mill, M. P. for Westminster, and Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Geological Society.

Dr. Franklin Tuthill, a well-known journalist formerly connected with the New York *Times*, and lately with the San Francisco *Bulletin*, died on Sunday morning in Brooklyn, in his forty-third year. He had but lately returned from a trip in Europe, taken for the benefit of his health, and had just completed a history of California.

Gen. Rufus Saxton, Superintendent of Freedmen's Affairs in South Carolina, is reverenced by the colored population, while he is thoroughly respected by the whites. The white citizens of Beaufort lately presented to him one of the finest residences in the place. As he refused to accept it, the fee simple was conveyed to his wife.

Rear-Admiral Goldsborough, writing to the Navy Department August 5, says that in consequence of his not being invited to witness or participate in the approaching naval review at Brest, he has decided neither to be present nor allow any vessels belonging to his squadron to be in any adjacent waters near that time.

Captain Nye, of the ship Abigail, is said to have expressed his scorn and fearlessness of the pirates at the time of his capture, saying to Waddell, of the Shenandoah, "You have not ruined me yet; I have ten thousand dollars at home, and before I left I lent it to the Government to help fight such fellows as you."

The statue of Alexander Hamilton, executed by Dr. Wm. Rimmer, and presented to the City of Boston, free of all expense, by Thomas Lee, Esq., of Brookline, was last week placed on its pedestal in Commonwealth avenue. The statue is of Concord granite, and has been accepted by the city. There will be no formal inauguration ceremonies.

Fourteen hundred colored families have made application to the military authorities at Fortress Monroe to purchase land in Virginia, for the purpose of dwelling thereon and cultivating the same. They wish to purchase from or through the agency of the United States Government, feeling assured that by such a course their rights and titles will be respected. They will pay cash.

A widow residing in Ohio, who gave eight sons in defence of her country, three of whom died in the service, recently sent in to the Pension Bureau an application for three pensions, under the impression that she was legally entitled to that number. Under the law, but one pension in any case can be granted to one individual, and as the widow has five sons living, her case can scarcely be considered one of pecuniary hardship.

In the Sierra Nevada there are gigantic trees. Visitors who will insert a marble slab in the bark, and enclose the tree by an iron rail, have the privilege of naming a tree. Mr. Benjamin C. Howard, of San Francisco, while on a visit to the Sierra, recently, chose one 300 feet high and 51 in circumference, whose bark is two feet thick, and named it "Henry Ward Beecher." It stands next to one named Lincoln.

Prof. J. D. Whitney, of California, has been appointed to the professorship of Geology at Harvard, and will have charge of the mining school of that institution. This department has recently received an endowment of $50,000 from Hon. Samuel Hooper, M. C., and will be in future one of the most important branches of the college. Prof. Whitney will spend three years in California, completing his geological surveys in that State, after which he will enter upon his duties at Cambridge.

According to the Washington correspondent of the *Herald*, Maximilian of Mexico recently sent Senor Degolado to Washington as the bearer of a letter conveying the condolence of the Emperor on Mr. Lincoln's assassination, and congratulations to his successor. This was a shrewd device on the part of Maximilian to obtain recognition, but it was not successful. Mr. Seward, when asked to receive a letter from the Emperor of Mexico, replied that he knew of no such person. Maximilian must try again.

Linton Stephens of Georgia, brother of rebel Vice-President Stephens, is in Washington for the purpose of interceding in behalf of his brother. There is good authority for stating that Gen. Grant, previous to his departure, expressed to a friend his belief in the conviction of Jeff. Davis as guilty of complicity in the assassination plot. He considers the evidence adduced before the late court-martial, together with that since received by the Government, sufficient to convict him.

A correspondent writes: "We rarely meet with the name of Gen. Cass in the papers, but he 'still lives' at the ripe age of eighty-four years. He resides on Jefferson street, Detroit, in a handsome, modern-built dwelling, while his eldest son occupies the old family homestead, two squares distant. Though afflicted with the feebleness and forgetfulness naturally incident to his patriarchal age, he maintains better health and a more active spirit than could reasonably be supposed to belong to his time of life."

M. Dupin, whose denunciation of the extravagance of ladies in dress and modes of life, has created recently so much sensation in the official and social circles of Paris, is one of the most venerable and respected men in France, and, at the same time, one of the most eminent barristers of the country. He is now in his 83d year. He took a most prominent part in helping Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and afterwards became a member of the Cabinet, and was for eight years President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Garibaldi's name has lost its power neither among the lovers nor the haters of liberty. Irish hostility to him was queerly manifested the other day in England, when a Capt. Adams went up from Manchester in a balloon which he had named Garibaldi. It was all very nice going up, says a correspondent, but, as often happens in ballooning, the coming down was the difficulty. Capt. Adams came down in a crowd of Irishmen, some of whom could read, and who recognized the name of their enemy, the ex-candle-maker of Staten Island. They attacked the balloon, and, in spite of the efforts of the police, came near tearing it and Capt. Adams to pieces.

The following is related among the curious incidents of the recent parliamentary elections in Great Britain. Last month one Mr. Reardon, a Connaught man, who keeps a provision shop in London, stopped a night at Athlone, Ireland, on his way to Galway; made himself very friendly with the "boys" in that borough, who were dissatisfied with their late member; treated them all round to drink, and talked politics between each tumbler of punch; was waked up early in the morning and invited to go on the hustings to witness the nomination; heard the late member proposed for reelection and two of his new acquaintances "propose "Patrick Reardon, Esq;" replied in a slashing manner to the rival candidate's feeble speech; received the greatest "show of hands;" and, his opponent having retired in disgust, was duly declared member for the ancient borough of Athlone, as much to his own surprise as satisfaction.

An anecdote is told of the Bishop of Exeter, England. The scene is a church in Torquay; the bishop is present, but not officiating, and he sits with the congregation. The officiating clergyman ventures to soften to ears polite the phrase, "eat and drink their own damnation." He reads it "condemnation." A voice is heard energetically exclaiming, "Damnation!" The whole church is startled. But it is not a profane epithet they hear; it is the voice of the Bishop in rebuke of the officiating minister.

Maj.-Gen. Meade, accompanied by Brevet Maj.-Gen. Webb, Inspector-General; Col. Batchelder, Quartermaster, and Lieut.-Col. Meade, A. D. C., are on a tour of inspection through the Departments of Virginia, North and South Carolina, of the Military Division of the Atlantic. They will be absent several weeks, and visit all the important points in these departments. They will first visit Richmond, via Gordonsville and some of the old battle-fields. Though the President has not seriously contemplated any visit to Richmond, as has been so frequently stated by the Richmond papers, it is, after all, not unlikely that he may make the proposed trip.

M. de Lamartine as all those who admire his genius have long had occasion to observe with pain, lends himself to discreditable puffing in order to sell his works. It has lately been stated that he was seriously ill. Everybody will rejoice to learn that the news is not true. But the *Presse*, not content with the averment that M. de Lamartine is in good health, tacks to its contradiction of the false news, that he is at St. Point, "working hard at his *Journal de Litterature*, to endeavor to replace the sum coming from his deceased wife's property which England is now keeping from him." It is presumed from this that there is a lawsuit in the English courts about Mme. de Lamartine's succession, but what nonsense to tell the public, in an invidious sense, that "England" detains the money.

Mrs. Ritchie writes to a Philadelphia paper that after the recent discovery of Dante's remains at Ravenna, his final obsequies were celebrated with great pomp. Military salutes, processions, bands of music, orations and banqueting formed part of the ceremony. The bones were carried to the temple of Bracciaforte, upon a white satin cushion, in a crystal urn, covered with a white veil. When the veil was lifted the Syndic of Ravenna made a touching address, and then placed a wreath upon the urn. A second wreath was offered by the Syndic of Florence. No priests were permitted to officiate. Their ire was very naturally excited, and they pronounced the whole proceeding sacrilegious.

While Gen. Sherman was in Gen. Howard's tent one day during the Georgia campaign, the medical director, who knew that the former liked a "glass" occasionally, while Gen. Howard was total abstinence, told Sherman that he looked weary and ill, and if he would go with him he would give him a seidlitz powder. The General acquiesced in the proposal with alacrity, but Gen. Howard, opening his valise, begged him not to leave, and produced a powder, which he mixed and gave to Sherman. The latter, though a little chagrined at the loss of the ardent, was much amused at Howard's ruse and drank the cup manfully. The bystanders who saw the joke smiled as loud as was proper under the circumstances.

A private subscription has been started, says the correspondent of a Birmingham paper, with a view to a memorial of Mr. Cobden, which, without a single appeal to the public or to strangers, already exceeds twenty-seven thousand pounds.

Many addresses from municipal and other corporations and societies, in all parts of Europe, lamenting the death of Mr. Cobden, have been transmitted to Mrs. Cobden. To the chagrin and mortification of the liberal friends of the great economist, Mrs. Cobden has sent a bust of her late husband to the Emperor of the French—a purely personal tribute which the political relations between Mr. Cobden and the Emperor did not justify. The assassin of the French Republic deserved no such recognition from the widow of the English Reformer.

The Fredericksburg (Va.) *Ledger* publishes the following letter from Joseph E. Johnston:

BUFFALO SPRINGS,
MECKLENBURG CO., Va., Aug. 17, 1865.

You ask my views of the future course and future interest of us all. The case is so plain that very little can be said or written upon it. We of the South referred the question at issue between us and the United States to the arbitrament of the sword. The decision has been made, and is against us. We acquiesce in that decision, accept it as final, and recognize the fact that Virginia is again one of the United States. Our duties and interests coincide. We shall consult the one and perform the other by doing all we can to promote the welfare of our neighbors and to restore prosperity to the country. We should at once commence the duties of peaceful citizens by entering upon some useful pursuit, qualifying ourselves to vote, if possible, and at the polls our votes should be cast for conservative men—men who understand and will maintain the interests of Virginia as one of the United States. This is the course which I have recommended to all those with whom I have conversed on the subject, and that which I have adopted for myself as far as practicable.

Very truly yours,
J. E. JOHNSTON.

Of the President and what he said to Garrett Davis, thus writes the Washington correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*:

"Garrett Davis, the garrulous, windy, semi-disloyal Kentuckian, has been here, and has had a long interview with the President. Everything about the man is long. His speeches are long; his conversations are interminable; his arguments always tire his hearers; and, in truth, he is only short in person. He came out from his interview with the President smiling and hopeful. As Garrett is a genuine copperhead, some of our nervous republicans are anxious. It is always a bad sign when your enemy speaks well of you; it is not a good sign when Garrett Davis speaks highly of the President, and goes back to Kentucky saying to his friends, 'You will find that Mr. Johnson is conservative in his views—he will not go counter to the opinions of the Southern people.' But he is a very peculiar man and an atrocious bore. The President is feeble, certainly not in strong health, and he got rid of the long-winded Davis as quickly as he could. Two or three Kentucky radicals followed Davis, and I understand that they, also, came away perfectly satisfied! That looks very much as if Mr. Johnson was not ready to announce to the country his exact position on the subject of reconstruction, and that he, therefore, concluded to please both parties in Kentucky, that is, their leaders, when they sought an interview with him."

The sons of the late Sir Francis Palgrave, the distinguished historian of "Normandy in England," who changed his Jewish name, Cohen, into Palgrave, and who acquired great distinction as antiquary and author, are successfully emulating the genius of their father. One of them published last year a beautiful collection of English poetry, and another of his sons, William Gifford Palgrave, is the author of a "Narrative of a Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia," a work of great interest and freshness of information about the Arabic tribes, among some of which Palgrave was the first European visitor, travelling in the character of a Syrian physician. Being familiar with Oriental languages and customs, he was enabled to pass unmolested through regions never before visited with impunity by a traveller. His description of the fanatical Mohammedan sect of Wahabees, whose extraordinary bigotry and ferocity is for the first time brought to public knowledge by Mr. Palgrave's disclosures, is especially valuable.

A foreign correspondent who saw John Stuart Mill at a public meeting in Westminster, just before his election to Parliament, describes him thus:

"He is about five feet ten inches in height, of strong angular frame, thin in flesh, bald, with a sharp analytic face. His forehead is high, but not broad. He has an immense development of the perceptive faculties, with very large veneration and firmness. It is a face and head exquisitely refined and spiritualized. It was, of course, a new experience for this bookish and cloistered man to address public meetings, and to be the object of such tremendous physical demonstrations of homage; but through the whole evening his self-command was perfect, the only external sign of agitation being in the flush upon his face, and a slight nervous twitching beneath the eyes during the frequent salvos of applause."

Of Mr. Mill's speech on that occasion—one of his first political efforts—the same writer says:

"It was a massive, nobly simple, and lucid exposition of what he called 'the great open question between capital and labor.' It was in the quiet, conversational style, without any pretence to oratory, terse and epigrammatical. He seemed like some venerable and benignant teacher, with his reverent pupils sitting and standing about him by thousands, their heads strained forward in the attitude of persons listening eagerly, lest one syllable of his high, sweet, and thoughtful eloquence be lost. His address lasted about an hour. Then, as is the admirable custom in English political meetings, came the time for questions. In the present instance they were handed up to the chairman in writing, and read by him. They seemed to range over every topic that can possibly engage the attention of a British legislator; and Mr. Mill's replies, which he gave instantaneously and with an indescribable look of delight, were in all respects most admirable, fair, concise, luminous, pungent, and practical."

Among the numerous generals mustered out of service last week, Gen. Butler, we rejoice to see, is not one. It is reported, and we hope truly, that the President said he might still have work for him to do at the South. At all events, he will not accept his resignation. In the case relating to the estate of the late Andrew J. Butler, brother of Gen. Butler, which came up in the Surrogate's Court, New York, the General, who is executor, declined to make any return of the property excepting what is in New York State. This is valued at seventy-two thousand dollars. Surrogate Tucker ruled that a return should be made of the entire amount of the estate, wherever it might be, and caused an order to that effect to be entered. From this Gen. Butler's counsel appealed, and the case will go to the Supreme Court. The General was present in court during the proceedings. Some of the papers say he will remove to New York and resume the practice of the law.

The Rutland *Herald* says that a few days ago Capt Beaman, of a Vermont regiment, forwarded to Dr. Holmes the handkerchief belonging to O. W. Holmes, Jr., which he picked up on the Ball's Bluff battle-field, and received the following feeling letter:

Boston, Aug. 7, 1865.

Dear Sir: I have just received the handkerchief which you have had the kindness to send, and I return you the most grateful acknowledgments for it. His mother unfolded it, and said, as she read his name, "I marked it." To you it was a curious relic, and as such I can understand that you valued it, and only parted with it from a generous impulse, which is honorable to your feelings. But to us and to our children's children it is, and will be, something more than a relic; it records the baptism of blood of my first-born on one of the most dreadful fields of this hard-fought war. My son has the minie bullet which tore his breast on that fatal day. He has the large ball from a spherical-case which was dug out of his heel at Fredericksburg. But this handkerchief, returned after so long an interval, calls up the recollection of that day when he was so near death more vividly than any other memento could do, and will always be precious to him and to all of us.

My son is taking a vacation among the mountains, as I believe I mentioned, but I thank you in his name, as well as in my own, and in that of all our family, for your prompt and cheerful kindness.

Very truly yours, O. W. HOLMES.

The will of Mrs. Sylvia Ann Howland, of New Bedford, Mass., is contested by her niece, Miss Hetty H. Robinson. Mrs. Howland died in July last, leaving personal property to the amount of $1,900,510, which, with the real estate, would make the value of the whole between two and three millions of dollars. Miss Hetty H. Robinson, the contestant, the niece of the testatrix, is the daughter of Edward Mott Robinson of New York, who died a few months since, leaving a property estimated at from three to five millions. By her will, which was executed September 1, 1863, Miss Howland makes bequests to the amount of nearly eleven hundred thousand dollars, some of which are to her relatives and personal friends, and others for various charitable purposes. She bequeathed to the New Bedford Orphan's Home $20,000; to the city of New Bedford, for the purpose of introducing water into the city and for the encouragement otherwise and more general introduction of heavy manufactures, the sum of $100,000. Also the same amount to be properly invested, and the income to be used for the promotion and support within the city of liberal education and the enlargement of the Public Library. Some of the bequests were to Edward D. Mandell, George Howland, jr., and William A. Gordon in trust, among which was the $50,000 for the support and relief of such poor and indigent females of the city of New Bedford as shall in the judgment of the trustees be worthy of relief. Finally, she bequeathed the residue of her estate, in trust, to Miss Hetty H. Robinson during her life, and after the death of said Hetty to the descendants of her grandfather, Gideon Howland.

At the hearing last week Friday, before the Probate Court in New Bedford, the will was admitted and the contestants appealed to the Supreme Court.

Artemus Ward's reappearance in New York elicits the following pleasant notice from the accomplished theatrical critic of the *Tribune*, Mr. E. H. House:

"The occasion, indeed, is a somewhat sad one—since it is the beginning of that 'long farewell,' of six nights, which Artemus Ward proposes to take of his admiring but afflicted fellow-citizens. He will speak of the Mormons. This, at least, is the ostensible subject of his lecture: but past experience induces us to hazard the conjecture that he will not fail to touch upon other themes. Should the Country Parson discourse of Artemus—which direful thing may chance, when the latter gets to England—he would certainly treat 'Concerning a man who lectures upon everything, with a few incidental remarks upon everything else.' That is the artistic quality in Mr. Browne's lectures. He glides from theme to theme, and is garrulous and extravagant and humorous in his treatment of each, as is perfectly consonant with the character which his fancy has created. That character has at last come to be as familiar as any other hero or heroine of literature. We know Artemus Ward as a middle-aged man, bald-headed, somewhat respectable in appearance, and consequential in manner. He is married, we know, for we have read of Betsy Jane, and we also know that he is a showman, because we have read of his 'wax figgers.' We recall his partner, too, William Tompkins, now in the 'speerit' land, whom, in the flesh, he was wont to address as 'Old Sweetness.' As to the experiences of Artemus, it is easy to see that they must have been manifold, and peculiar to American civilization, in its somewhat rough phases. He had

LITERARY.

LIFE OF HORACE MANN. BY HIS WIFE. Boston: Walker, Fuller & Co. 1865.

"THEY only who live with a man," said Dr. Johnson, "can write his life with any genuine exactness, and few people who have lived with a man know what to remark about him." This book illustrates both opinions. Mrs. Mann has compiled it on a theory, proper in itself, that the subject of it should be permitted, so far as possible, to tell his own story. Accordingly she has brought together a great number of Horace Mann's letters, with extracts from his diary. The thread of biography which connects them is slender, and much the least valuable part of the book. It is obvious that Mrs. Mann makes no pretension to a knowledge of book-making arts. There is great want of elucidation as well as of connected story. The numerous allusions in the letters, which are perfectly intelligible, no doubt, to Mrs. Mann are not intelligible to the general reader. The history of Mr. Mann's work as Secretary of the Board of Education is not to be gathered in a historical form either from the letters or from the narrative. The history of Antioch College is still more obscurely told, and the reader who struggles for a clear notion of the difficulties that surrounded its President's steps and impaired the results of his best efforts, will require access to other stores of information than this volume contains. Mr. Mann's controversy with Mr. Webster is, like these other matters, narrated inferentially rather than directly. In a word, we should say of Mrs. Mann's volume that it contains material for a life of Horace Mann rather than the life itself.

Notwithstanding all which, the reader will find a great deal of Horace Mann inside these covers, and if he does not care to criticise too closely, will easily yield to the spell which the strong will and powerful vitality of Horace Mann lays upon those with whom he comes in contact. All through his life he *worked*—worked with tremendous energy and courage, worked when he was sick just as resolutely as when he was well, and worked for a purpose always. Add to that, he worked for the most part on the side of morality, education, freedom, and religion, and you have the secret of his power. It pervades his letters and journals. His style is not always good, but is almost always strong—even when diffuse. All that he wrote is readable except perhaps where the jargon of phrenology gets the better of his English, and when it does, you at once perceive the narrowness of the intellect which could be satisfied with a metaphysical scheme constructed from the skull instead of the brain—a worse form of materialism and sensualism than Locke's, and never developed with a tenth part of Locke's ability. Intellectually considered, he could never have been a very great man who was content to think George Combe a great philosopher.

Perhaps the best character of Horace Mann, on the whole, is contained in a letter of Theodore Parker to Dr. Howe, written in 1859, just after the news of Mann's death had reached the illustrious exile at Montreux. We extract enough to show Mr. Parker's estimate:

"In his intellectual composition he lacked the ideal element to an extraordinary degree, yet his mind was as rich in figures and as vivid as a New England meadow in June. Still, there was little poetry in the man; the useful left no corner for the beautiful. He loved strongly and idealized the objects of his affection, making them quite other than they were; he also hated terribly, and never, I think, forgave a public or a private foe. His hatred idealized men downwards, and he could see no good in them, or if any it was deformed by the evil motive he saw (or fancied he saw) prompting and controlling it all. Like other lawyers and politicians, he judged men ungenerously and thought their motives mean. He loved few and liked not many. By nature he had great love of approbation, but in all his life I remember no act in which this mean passion got the better of his conscience, and bent him away from the path of right. His sense of duty was overwhelming. Bred in the worst form of Calvinism, he never quite wiped off the dreadful *smooch* it makes on the character—nay, he did not extract the dark colors it *bites in* to the spiritual nature of the unlucky child. Hence his low estimate of men, hence his unforgiving disposition. For, if he had much justice in the abstract, he had little mercy in the concrete. In his reactionary swing from Dr. Emmons' Calvinism, he went about as near Atheism as an intellectual man can go, and, as you say, under such circumstances, that is pretty near. But his confidence in duty and philanthropy never failed him.....I know no politician who so hated Calvinism; none who used its language so much, or who to the public appeared so much the friend of the ecclesiastic theology of which it is the poison-flower. There was a certain duplicity in the man, at strange variance with the austere purity of his personal life, and the lofty elevation of his purpose. This appeared in his work as Secretary of the Board of Education, as member of Congress, and as President of Antioch College—perhaps more conspicuously in the last office. Had the little, narrow, bigoted sect of Christians known his profound convictions and the moral contempt he felt for their absurd and debasing theology, they would never have made him even a teacher in their school, much less its head. If he had lived he must have felt great embarrassment from this cause, to be met by yet further duplicity. I like not his taking of bread and wine in the meeting-houses of his sect, nor his having prayers three times a day at his table. It was an official, not a personal act, and savors of hypocrisy. It was done for example, but it was an instance of falseness to his own convictions.....

"These are his great public works:

"1. He opposed intemperance, I mean drunkenness.

"2. He worked for the insane; I think no one, or two, or five men in the State did them such wise service as he.

"3. He took up the common schools of Massachusetts in his arms and blessed them. Here was the great work of his life. It was a piece of heroic self-denial to take the Secretaryship of the Board of Education. He gave up his profession and 2,500 or 3,000 dollars a year; he abandoned the Presidency of the Senate and the fairest chance of political honors—for he was one of the most popular and influential men in the Legislature—to work for the public education of the people of Massachusetts fifteen hours a day, pay his own travelling expenses, and become the butt of all the Democratic politicians—Rantoul was the only Democrat in Massachusetts who cared anything for the public schools—of all the lazy schoolmasters that were unfit for their office, and of all the little 'miserable' orthodox ministers who complained of his want of *ng-pii-et-ly* (you know how to *pronounce* that word.).....He was the father of Normal schools. His good work here will live; one hundred years hence three generations will have tasted its blessed influence; the last the deepest of all. His influence went to all New England and her fair daughter States. It is not often that a man has such an opportunity to serve his kind; in our century I know none who used it better, almost none so well.....

"4. He went to Congress at a most trying period. .....When Daniel Webster committed the great sin which immediately doubled his popularity in Boston with the Hunkers who had bought him, and have now given him his post on that stone of shame in the State House yard whence Massachusetts will one day cast him down and break it to powder, Horace Mann exposed the wickedness of the deed; none in Congress, I think, did the work so ably. He smote the champion of slavery a blow which sent him reeling home; it was the heaviest Webster ever had. He never recovered from it.

"In his public life I find no aims but the noblest of all. .....As a lawyer, I am told, he never took a case that he did not conscientiously think he ought to win. As a relative, neighbor, husband, father, his character was admirable, perhaps spotless. Young men loved him—all the doorkeepers at Washington and the other servants of the capitol; and old men of noble mark looked on him with admiration and esteem. I shall always place him among the noblest men of New England, and thank God I had the privilege of his acquaintance, perhaps of his esteem and friendship, and sometimes the opportunity of doing him some little favor."

Those who have not read Mrs Mann's book may find it difficult to believe that she characterizes this just and comprehensive estimate as a "chaotic letter," written when Mr. Parker "was so enfeebled in mind by illness as to be scarcely responsible." But it is a weakness of most biographers, and in Mrs. Mann's case is a very natural failing, that they see none but the good traits in their subjects. Mrs. Mann adds to this a capacity for seeing nothing but ill in those who had the misfortune to differ from her husband, or whose perception of his faults is clearer than hers.

Before this book passes to another edition, the publishers should cause a table of contents and an index to be prepared for it. In its present condition it is useless for reference. The text also needs to be gone over by a careful proof-reader—one who knows Latin enough not to print *uno laudato* for *viro laudato*, and who will attend to the proper spelling of proper names. This work is the more necessary because Mrs. Mann's life must be a standard book for many years.

The *London Quarterly* for July closes a careful review of the last two volumes of Carlyle's Frederic, with the following striking passage:

"Differing, as we must do, widely from him in our estimate of his hero's character, and in our estimate, also, of the historical interest and importance of a vast proportion of the heavy details which he has dragged so painfully to light, we cannot, nevertheless, lay down his book without regret at parting with an animated and interesting companion, or without increased respect for the extraordinary power which he has lavished on what seems to us so intractable a subject. As a writer, Mr. Carlyle's fame is established; criticism has done its worst on him; imitation and flattery have done their worst also; in this character 'nothing can touch him further,' and we certainly shall not profane the great work before us by the slight handling of an ordinary review. Enough to say, that after forming the literary taste of England and America to an extent which no contemporary has approached, he has become, while yet alive and at work among us, something of a classic. His peculiar style and mannerism seem already things of the past to this generation. Imitators of Carlyle abounded not many years ago, and a serious infliction they became. They are already comparatively rare. It is something strange to see the great Master himself stepping forward, after years of silence, and occupying again the same field which his very followers had deserted; to trace, in his own pages, the very same strange but impressive diction, the same *tours de force* of style, and the same settled eccentricities of thought, not softened in the least degree by age or disease, which we had already begun to regard as antiquated in those who took them up at second hand. It is like the return of the magician in Goethe's ballad to the house which he had abandoned to the experiments of his foolish and conceited apprentices, and his calm resumption of authority over the spirits which others might call, but he alone could control when called:

'Denn, als Geister,
Ruft euch nur, zu seinem Zwecke,
Erust hervor der alte Meister.'"

Says the London *Reader*:

A work which has gained some standing in America, called "The Life and Times of John Huss, or the Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century," by Dr. E. H. Gillett, has been suadenly deprived of reputation, by the exposure of the fact that many sentences, paragraphs, and pages in both volumes are taken bodily from the English translation of Bonnechose's "Reformers before the Reformation." Long quotations which we have seen from both works, given in parallel columns, leave no room for doubt in the matter. The unkindest part of the plagiarism seems to be that, in his preface, Dr. Gillett complains of the estimable Bonnechose that "on some important points his work is quite meagre!"

The *Reader* would have done better to say that it was the *North American Review* in which occur the "long quotations which we have seen from both works." Seldom has a literary forgery been more thoroughly exposed than Dr. Gillett's, and the *North American* ought to have credit for its good service in the cause of morals.

The *North American* is independent enough to disregard the eulogies of Lord Derby's Homer which overflow the English Reviews, and criticizes sharply both the book itself and the flunkeyism which produces praise of it because its author is Earl of Derby—as if that were a merit in translating the noble old bard.

"There are two singular superstitions firmly rooted in the English mind—a belief in the divine efficacy of Greek and of lords. The one is apparently deemed essential to eternal as the other to political salvation. To be able to write in the Hellenic character a copy of verses that would have set the teeth of all Athens on edge is an essential pre-requisite for ecclesiastical preferment—comment *Ecclesiazusæ* and be a bishop; and yet for a noble to condescend to an acquaintance with a language even as consecrated, adds a new lustre to the coronet, and deserves the national gratitude. For the first earl of England to know *anything*, indeed, is a concession to popular prejudice as unusual as it is gratifying. It is no wonder, then, if the Earl of Derby's translation had been received in England as the unmerited intervention of a superior being in favor of human imperfection. A god descends again to share in this battle of interpreters upon the windy plains of Troy." The critic finds that the Earl has achieved "a most fatally respectable translation—a Homer toned down to the decorum of the drawing-room, shaved, with irreproachable candor of necktie, and speaking the too faultless English of the House of Lords after it has been groomed by the *Times* reporter."

A disease breaks out from time to time with great virulence in the French theatres, taking the form of a hankering after the Bible and its stories. They have just been bringing forward (or reviving?) a drama on the subject of "Paradise Lost." Very few things have been printed, even by M. Janin, more curious than that gentleman's sparkling paragraphs about "Genesis, Milton, Byron, and Chateaubriand."—"The Deluge" is shortly to come out.

A shilling edition of "Artemus Ward" has just appeared in the London booksellers' windows, and Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son have taken no less than 4,000 copies. The "author's edition" of "Artemus Ward," issued by the same publisher, has been supplemented by two extra chapters, entitled "The Draft in Baldinsville, with Mr. Ward's Private Opinion concerning Old Bachelors," and "Mr. W.'s Visit to a Gaffle" [Soiree]. The agent of Mr. Charles F. Browne (otherwise A. Ward) is at present in London, and it is expected that the "Showman" will lecture there during the coming autumn and winter.

It is remarkable how few of the poets of the two last centuries have bequeathed their names to posterity through descendants. Cowley, Butler, and Otway died childless, with Prior and Congreve, Gay, Phillips, and Savage, Thompson, Collins and Shenstone, Akenside, Goldsmith, and Gray. Pope, Swift, Watts, and Cowper were unmated, solitary men; and Johnson had no child. The descendants of Dryden, Addison, and Parnell did not pass into the second generation; those of Shakspeare and Milton became extinct in the second and third. Hugh Miller regarded this portion of literary history as an illustration of Doubleday's curious theory of population. The human mind attained in these remarkable men to its full intellectual development, as the rose or the carnation under a long course of culture, at length suddenly *stocks*, and doubles and widens its gorgeous blow of a thousand petals; and then when in its greatest perfection, transmission ceases, and there is no further reproduction of the variety thus amplified and expanded to the full. Nature does her utmost, and then, stopping short, does no more.

The *Record* used to carry off the palm for advertisements dexterously combining a reference to both worlds; but surely it can hardly ever have beaten the following ones, which are extracted from *The Christian World*:

"Wanted, a God-fearing young man, as junior assistant to the general drapery trade. Must be pushing, active, and industrious." Or this: "Wanted by a ready-made clothing establishment, a good salesman and window-dresser. Satisfactory references as to abilities and Christian character required." Do Moses and Son we wonder, make all their shopmen pass an examination under Dr. Adler? To insist on Christian principles, as well as on the power of "pushing," is a clever way of getting out of Aristotle's difficulty about "the *good* shoemaker." Here is another sample: "Wanted, a machine-fitter, also a carpenter. One who understands the wheeling preferred. None but Christian men need apply." Naturally those who seek situations give notice that "Christian privileges are valued." In fact, the literal adoption by both parties of St. Paul's dictum about not being slothful in business, must be edifying to sticklers for the interpretation of Scripture in its plain and natural sense.

Among the good sayings continually attributed to Talleyrand are two that should be restored to their English writers. Goldsmith is the father of one, and Swift of the other. In his essay on "The Use of Language," Goldsmith says: "Men who know the world maintain very contrary maxims. They hold—and I think with some show of reason—that he who best knows how to conceal his necessity and desires, is the most likely person to find redress; and that *the true use of speech is not so much to express our wants, as to conceal them.*" The other saying with which Talleyrand is credited is that about *making two blades of grass grow where only one grew before*, but it really belongs to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. (See the voyage to Brobdignag, chapter vii.)

THOREAU in one of his letters thus treats of literary style:

"If you indulge in long periods, you must be sure to have a snapper at the end. As for style of writing, if one has anything to say, it drops from him simply as a stone falls to the ground. There are no two ways about it, but down it comes; and he may stick in the points and stops wherever he can get a chance. New ideas come into this world somewhat like falling meteors, with a flash and an explosion, and, perhaps, somebody's castle-roof is perforated. To try to polish the stone in its descent, to give it a peculiar turn, to make it whistle a tune, perchance, would be of no use, if it were possible. Your polished stuff turns out not to be meteoric, but of this earth."

There are some signs of an early appearance of the second volume of the Imperial Life of Cæsar. M. Plon, the Paris publisher, is at Plombières, with the Emperor, consulting as to its publication. The report recently circulated in English and American newspapers, that the French publisher had printed one hundred and forty thousand copies of Volume I., but that he had only been able to dispose of twenty-two thousand, and in consequence "complained bitterly" of his bargain, now turns out to be false. The number printed by M. Plon is not known, but amongst Paris publishers the sales are fixed at from fifty to sixty thousand copies. The Emperor occupies a portion of his time at Plombières upon a work which will shortly be published under the title of "Imperial Policy according to the Speeches and Proclamations of His Majesty Napoleon III., from 1848 to 1865." In addition to a careful reprint of the original documents, there will be explanatory foot-notes, and introductions to the several divisions, thus constituting the work a sort of manual of French governmental policy.

The London *Times* concludes a review of Horace Greeley's "American Conflict" with these words: "We earnestly recommend this history as a work of marked ability and perfect good faith. No person of candor, whatever may be his opinions, could read it without feeling indebted to the author."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 28, 1865.

WE are to have a new theatre in Boston. Its erection is speedily to begin, on the site heretofore occupied by the Apollo Garden, a place considerably resorted to by Germans, and such others as liked the combination of lager-beer, smoke, and music. This new enterprise is undertaken by Morris Brothers, Pell, and Trowbridge, or one of their number, a company which, for years past, has made a special business of exhibiting extravagant caricatures of the African race. They are said to be largely patronized, and very prosperous, though their pictorial advertisements (which form an extensive nuisance in the streets and suburbs of Boston) never rise to the ludicrous, and succeed only in displaying the ridiculous. It is a real misfortune to a community to have the idea of fun and the propensity to laughter so misused as they are in places of this kind. I was about to say that it was discreditable to Boston that an entertainment (?) of such a sort—yes, people really go there for the purpose of entertainment—should be well attended year after year; but, after all, there is nothing strange about it. A city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, with a floating population of ten thousand, must of course include five hundred people every night whose taste is low enough, and whose appreciation of amusement is undeveloped enough to enjoy such trash. So the traditional Sambo still flourishes on our stage, and the patrons of the *Courier* and the *Herald* are offered a nightly amusement corresponding to their daily business.

Whether the new theatre will be of the same sort, or will aspire to be something better, remains to be seen. Places of amusement are as much resorted to as ever among us, and the cheap and vulgar ones find ordinarily the best attendance. Every general rule, however, has its exception. The exception to this rule is the Boston Museum, a place of dramatic entertainment which, though cheap, is highly respectable, and in the main admirably conducted. If Mr. Morris would imitate that, he might do well at once for himself and the city.

Farce and comedy naturally suggest tragedy. The act of brutal violence in one of the most crowded streets of Boston, which I lately mentioned to you as strange and exceptional as well as shocking, has met with speedy and appropriate retribution. The four men who assaulted and ravished an unprotected woman are now committed to our State Prison for life. Their arrest took place within a few hours of their commission of the crime, in the ordinary course of our police operations. But the summoning at once of a special session of the Grand Jury to indict them, and the allotment to them, when the crime was proved, of a punishment the most appropriate possible, at once as penalty to them and as warning to others, are due to the zeal and discretion of our excellent Judge Russell. If all our justices were as mindful as he of the duties belonging to that high office, the interests of the community would be better cared for. It is shocking to see, in the allotment of penalties in our own courts, as well as in English ones, how little attention is given by their functionaries either to the amount of depravity involved in the existing case, or to the prevention of crimes of the same sort in future. He who fills the important station of judge should have both these points constantly in mind. The decisions of Judge Russell prove that he is mindful of both; and his extra professional labors include efforts for the reformation of prisoners, and for the supply of opportunities for honest industry to discharged convicts.

After much reporting and counter-reporting in the newspapers, which left their readers entirely in doubt what to believe, it is now settled that the two colored regiments of Massachusetts, the 54th and 55th, are coming home to be mustered out. The 54th arrived here from Charleston on the night of the 26th inst., and the 55th may be expected to arrive here within this week. So ends an episode in the lives of some of the colored men of Massachusetts, the thought of which, five years ago, would have been considered the wildest and most extravagant flight of imagination. That they should wear the uniform of the United States armies, and be gladly received as volunteer soldiers in the cause—that their military exercises in the camp of instruction should be viewed with interest by the respectability and fashion of Boston—that on their departure for the South they should be cheered with enthusiasm by Beacon street and State street—that South Carolina should be assigned as their field of combat against the secessionist slave-power—that the best white blood of the North should choose to be associated with them in this war for freedom, should fight and fall by their side, and should ask no better burial-place than the spot where they fell, and no better monument than that which gave the simple record of this association—what more wildly improbable could their fancy have pictured five years ago? Yet more than this has been realized. They have seen and taken part in the great *social* revolution of our time. Their neatness, their sobriety, their intelligence, their self-respect, their good order, their high discipline, their impetuous valor, have not only made thorough exposure, before the face of the Southern bondmen, of the lies their masters used to tell them about the condition and character of Northern negroes, but they have compelled the Southern whites to recognize in these Northern negroes a class of men superior to themselves; and at the same time, the evidence forced upon the attention of these very colored men of the existence of a large body of Southern whites inferior to themselves not only in actual attainments, but in the desire for knowledge and the recognition of its value, must give them new and strong incentives to aspiration and progress.

Business in Boston is asserting its pre-eminence by crowding out dwelling-houses and churches from the central portions of the city. Two years ago, the quiet old respectabilities who occupied Temple Place thought themselves as secure from invasion as those of Summer street did twenty years ago. But the irresistible movement of the times has set them also in motion. It excites a feeling combined of the pathetic and the ludicrous to see, following the change of grade which became necessary to convert Temple Place into a street, the granite steps of those once aristocratic habitations standing forlorn a yard above the side walk, and pieced out with flights of wooden steps enabling the proprietor to go in and out while seeking elsewhere the respectable quietude and permanence that he has lost. Nor are secular and worldly interests the only ones thus rudely jostled by the worshippers of Mammon. These ruthless improvers are now taking down the granite-fronted "Central Church" in Winter street, one of the strongholds of sectarian exclusiveness, where William M. Rodgers, one of the most malignant haters of the Anti-Slavery reform, originally held forth, and where the same spirit continued to preside in the hearts of his successors and their hearers. All the streets branching out from Washington street must become, like itself, channels for business; and simultaneously with this change, spacious and beautiful streets of dwelling-houses are now building on what was once the Back Bay, between the Public Garden and Roxbury.

The English correspondent of one of your New York papers has lately told us—speaking of the fifth volume, just published, of Bishop Colenso's work, entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined"—that the book is a very dull one. So it is, to a very large class, in fact to many large classes of readers. But to say this without explanation, to say just this and no more upon such a subject, is as if an English traveller had written from Boston, twenty years ago, to his favorite paper at home, that the Abolitionists were noisy agitators. So they were; but to leave the matter there, saying so much and no more, would have been to give a grain of truth with a pound of erroneous insinuation. The books of Bishop Colenso must needs be "dull" to the majority of people, because they consist of a vast array of minute evidence, proving something which, though intellectually and spiritually important to them, they are ill-instructed enough not to care about. These books ought, however, to be prized by this multitude, being written in their interest not less than in the interest of truth. The great work which Bishop Colenso has already accomplished, and which has enrolled him, even if his labors should proceed no further, among the benefactors of his age, is the assemblage of an array of evidence in the English language, enabling those who have no knowledge of Hebrew to be competent judges whether or not the first six books of the Hebrew Scriptures are historically trustworthy; and thus releasing them from intellectual subjection to a set of men whose professional and pecuniary ends were served by a dogmatic decision upon that point, based upon *their* (assumed) knowledge of Hebrew, and a habit of stigmatizing as profane and irreligious every attempt to show evidence on the other side. The work of Colenso, is, in fact, an attempt to bring the ideas of churchmen nearer to pure Christianity, by removing some traditionary notes which the clergy have tried to tack on to Christianity.

NORTH.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

COL. BOYNTON writes to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, touching the

COLORED SOLDIERS.

"Within a few weeks all the lines of communication have been put in charge of detatchments of colored troops. Their posts have been extended to the next station above Chester on the road to Charlotte. At first the whole State was thrown into a ferment by the report that the white soldiers were to be mustered out and the blacks were to take their place. This was too much for them to bear, and forgetting their subjugation for the moment, loud and deep were the curses and threats that rose on all sides. One not conversant with Southern bombast would have felt certain that another rebellion must inevitably follow the change. But the change took place and those who had threatened most defiantly submitted very quietly. Now at every station the passengers see black men in trim blue uniforms, with bright guns, walking around and looking after the interests of a Government which the South had been powerless to destroy. Very little was said in regard to these garrisons, most contented themselves with sullen looks, which darkened more and more as the fact became apparent that their presence even was not noticed by the quiet guards that either walked leisurely around among the crowd, or sat in groups engaged in conversation of their own. At the first station there was no white officer present, and a black sergeant with a squad of men was keeping all in order about the station, and also patrolling the parish for twelve miles around, to see that the planters were treating their former slaves properly, and keeping faith with them in the contracts.

"There is a wide gulf between South Carolina leading off in treason, arrogant, confident, and boastful—and South Carolina garrisoned by her own slaves wearing the national uniform and marching under the flag she tore down and trampled upon—a gulf which seems too wide to be bridged over even by four years of war. Truly a righteous retribution has fallen upon these people, and none can pity them when the magnitude of their crimes rises before the mind. Strange thoughts would rise on looking around at this station, and it was difficult to make it all seem real. Except that the whole scene spoke plainly of victory for our banner, there was but one group that called out the sympathy of a loyal man, and that was the little squad of colored soldiers. Around them were men still wearing the uniform of treason, and men who once owned such as they were, men who had beaten their comrades, and forced their race down to a level with the brutes, men who had raised their hands against their country and steeped them in blood. They were a sullen set, and looked with ill-concealed anger and contempt upon that little company dignified with the title of men and invested with the power which the uniform of the nation conveys.

"It is impossible to look upon such a scene, no matter what one's prejudices may be, and not feel the heart warming toward these black soldiers. The contrast here between patriots and traitors was very clearly seen."

ARKANSAS.

OPERATIONS OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

The Superintendent and Provost-Marshal of the Freedmen's Bureau for the District of East Arkansas has forwarded his report for the month of July. He records the fact that there has been no increase in the supply of rations furnished by the Government to the freedmen and destitute whites. Large numbers of men have been returning to their homes since the surrender of the rebels, and appear to be desirous of gaining all the instruction necessary to enable them to conform to the laws and usages inaugurated with the Federal occupation of the country. The Superintendent states that, to facilitate the making of contracts, and to guard the freedmen from oppression and abuse, the commanding officer of the district has sent two companies of soldiers to Madison, on the St. Francis river, and two companies to Lanconia, Desha county, both localities being the centres of communities intensely opposed to the freedmen. It is represented that the business of the office of the commissioner of the district is continually upon the increase.

MARYLAND.

Information has been received at the Freedmen's Bureau, from the lower counties of Maryland, that some of the former owners of slaves have, since the adoption of the emancipation law, bound out a number of children belonging to the freedmen, which children, if allowed to do so, could materially aid the support of their parents.

An officer of the Government, writing from Prince Frederick, Maryland, after referring to the fact of the binding out of freedmen's children by the former slave owners, says: "Efforts have been made by the freedmen to get the civil authorities to release the children, but in no cases have succeeded." The writer suggests the establishment of a military court, in order that justice may be done, and the suggestion will be laid before the proper authorities.

THE FREEDMEN ILL-TREATED BY THE PLANTERS.

Second-Lieut. W. Clark, of the Freedmen's Bureau, who was sent to investigate the condition of the freedmen in the lower counties of Maryland, their treatment, etc., has reported the result of his investigations to the main bureau here. He says: "Many complaints are made by the majority of planters of indolence and impudence on the part of the negro, of scarcity of labor, of increase of crime, of the pernicious influence of the Freedmen's Bureau in inciting a spirit of insubordination, and of the attempt of military authority to place in abeyance their State laws regarding negroes. They also complain of the disposition of the Government to insist on their supporting the infirm and aged of their former slaves, and threaten resistance to such action.

"The freedmen complain of the neglect and refusal of their employers to pay them, of ill-treatment, of the opposition to a reunion of families separated by slavery, of the resort to old methods of punishment, of the impossibility of securing protection to either person or property by appeal to civil authority, of suffering caused by planters turning away their aged and infirm servants to die of want and exposure, or be taken care of by the Government, of the refusal of many planters to hire those who have relations in the service of the United States." Lieut. Clark says: "It is a noticeable fact that the statements made by the freedmen coincide fully with those of the few loyal white men whom I met with during this journey, though it is not surprising when we consider that the treatment of loyal men in this section has been similar to that received by the freedmen. Several affidavits of loyal white men are included in the report, showing that men who have been faithful to Government cannot secure justice before the civil courts."

Numerous instances of cruelty practiced by the disloyal planters upon their late slaves are also cited to prove that the negro in lower Maryland is more inhumanly treated now than he was before the abolition of slavery. The families of slaves enlisting in the army, made free by President Lincoln's proclamation, have to endure peculiar hardships from the prejudice existing among the people against those who have been in the army, or who have husbands, fathers, or brothers there. Many old and infirm people have been driven away by their former masters, not being even awarded the care and protection given by a humane master to a faithful horse. These have been told to go and let the Government take care of them. As soon as emancipation took place the planters generally went before the Orphan's Court, and had the colored children, their former slaves, bound to them, thus perpetuating the separation of families.

They have been apprenticed under a section of the old code, which provides that children born in apprenticeship shall also be bound. Notwithstanding that this law has been pronounced unconstitutional by one judicial tribunal of Maryland, the decision is little regarded in this section of the State, and every obstacle is thrown in the way of the parents for recovering their children by those who have them in possession, and by the local authorities.

In conclusion Lieut. Clark says: "The sentiment of disloyalty to the Government is wide spread. I cannot better show the truth of this than by the following: In one entire district in Prince George county 190 out of 190 voters are disfranchised. Among them is a physician who, when the colored troops were being organized at Benedict, in that county, told his friends that he was going to be appointed Surgeon there, and would poison the niggers."

LOUISIANA.

FREEDMEN'S "RIGHTS."—A SAVAGE ORDINANCE WITH MILITARY APPROVAL.—SOMETHING FOR GEN. HOWARD.

We take the following from the Natchitoches (LA) *Times* of August 5th:

Ordinance Relative to the Police of Recently Emancipated Negroes or Freedmen, within the Corporate Limits of the Town of Opelousas.

Whereas, the relations formerly subsisting between master and slave have become changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and whereas it is necessary to provide for the proper police and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen, in their new relations to municipal authorities;

SEC. 1. Be it therefore ordained by the Board of Police of the Town of Opelousas, that no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the Town of Opelousas without special permission from his employer, specifying the object of his visit, and the time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents.

SEC. 2. Be it further ordained, that every negro or freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas, after 10 o'clock at night, without a written pass or permit from his employer, shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

SEC. 3. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town, under any circumstances, and any one thus offending shall be ejected, and compelled to find an employer or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above, shall pay a fine of ten dollars for each offence.

SEC. 4. No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman. But said employer or former owner may permit said freedman to hire his time, by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over twenty-four hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section shall be imprisoned and forced to work for two days on the public streets.

SEC. 5. No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, under any circumstances or for any purpose, without the permission of the Mayor or President of the Board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent freedmen from attending the usual church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

SEC. 6. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim, to congregations of colored people, without a special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars or twenty days work on the public streets.

SEC. 7. No freedman who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry fire arms or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without the special permission of his employer in writing, and approved by the Mayor or President of the Board of Police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.

SEC. 8. No freedman shall sell, barter, or exchange any article of merchandise or traffic, within the limits of Opelousas, without permission in writing from his employer or the Mayor or President of the Board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles, and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

SEC. 9. Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

SEC. 10. Any freedman not residing in Opelousas, who shall be found within its corporate limits after the hour of 9 p. m., on Sunday, without a special written permission from his employer or the Mayor, shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

SEC. 11. All the foregoing provisions apply to freedmen and freedwomen, of both sexes.

SEC. 12. It shall be the special duty of the Mayor or President of the Board to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

SEC. 13. Be it further ordained, That this ordinance to take effect from and after its first publication.

Ordained the 3d day of July, 1865.

E. D. ESTILLETTE,
President of the Board of Police.

JOSEPH D. RICHARD, Clerk.

HEADQUARTERS U. S. FORCES,
WASHINGTON, LA., July 5, 1865.

Approved:
By order of
Lt.-Col. R. F. ATKINS,
W. D. MCGUIRE, Lt. and Post Adjutant.

ALABAMA.

THE NEGROES AT WORK.

A correspondent writes to the Cincinnati *Commercial* from Montgomery, Aug. 10:

"It is a remarkable proof to me that the negro is sufficiently intelligent to take care of himself, that he actually does so under the press of present circumstances in Montgomery. Whites are idling about, thumb in mouth, it may be doing a vast amount of 'head work,' but not a single stroke of the more practical sort, needed here in these times—*labor with the hands.* But the negroes are *all at work*, except now and then a few stragglers who are *looking for work.* You will be told by these sangaree-suckers, loafing about bar-rooms, 'chopping straws, and calling it politics,' that 'the niggers won't work.' It's a lie! I'm tired enough of hearing slander. The negroes are at work, all of them but those who are seeking work, and not only that, but they are the only natives here that have begun already to show a *spirit of enterprise.* You see them busy, active, hopeful, when their former owners are listless and despondent. To tell you the truth, my respectful regard for the negro increases with my acquaintance. The problem would not be so hopeless after all to trust these creatures with full independence in self-regulation. For none of these, from Macon, Georgia, to Montgomery, Alabama, have enjoyed the friendly counsel and guidance of freedmen's agents and teachers. The self-helpfulness, and the shifts of economy they show are their own inspiration—the natural instinct of a buoyant, though chastened spirit. *I find them improving fast in freedom.* I am not disposed to resist whatever logical and political conclusion may be drawn from such a promise. On my long, weary tramp across the country I was brought more often and intimately in contact with the negro. I found a proportion that is startling, on reflection (startling to men who have been warned of the danger of precipitate action in entrusting the ballot of a freedman's discretion to a just liberated slave), who are, undoubtedly, and I can not conscientiously deny it, for all essential purposes, fully competent to suffrage.

"And the more I see of these spoiled white children, the less I care for what they vociferously proclaim and demand as their 'rights.' By their rights, they mean nothing but their prejudices. By rights, they do not mean equal rights to each. No proposition is so hateful to them as this. I grieve to be compelled to write this way. I meet with much personal kindness and hospitality, from individuals whose instant conversation shows only too plainly that they are now the political, as they have been the armed, enemies of freedom."

CRUELTIES TO THE FREEDMEN—A MILITARY FORCE DEMANDED TO PROTECT THEM.

General Swayne, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs for the State of Alabama, telegraphs from Montgomery, under date of the 28th inst., to General Howard, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, calling for an additional military force to put a stop to cruelties practised upon the freedmen of Alabama by the late slaveholders and others. General Swayne suggests that the Second Maine cavalry be sent to him immediately.

MISSISSIPPI.

THE CONVENTION.

JACKSON, Miss., Thursday, Aug. 24, 1865.

In the Convention to-day the ordinance proposing to submit the Constitutional Amendment to the people for ratification or rejection was lost by a vote of 5 yeas against 44 nays.

An eloquent appeal memorializing President Johnson to grant pardon to Jefferson Davis and Charles Clarke, late Governor of Mississippi, signed by over 4,000 ladies, was read and approved.

A resolution was adopted requesting the President of the Convention to forward the memorial to the President of the United States.

The Convention gives their President the right to reconvene them when deemed necessary.

A NEW "STATE RIGHTS" ARMY.

Gov. Sharkey, of Mississippi, has issued a proclamation calling on the people to form two companies in each county, one of cavalry and the other of infantry, for the purpose of preserving order and putting a stop to murders and robberies.

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 24.—Gov. Sharkey to-day sent into the Convention a telegraphic despatch, which he had received from President Johnson, congratulating the Convention on the progress they were making in paving the way to the readmission of the State of Mississippi into the Union; and expressing an earnest hope that all obstacles to such readmission would soon be removed.

The President says in this dispatch that he will restore the writ of *habeas corpus*, and remove the troops from the State at the earliest moment, when the State shall make sufficient progress as to have entirely returned to her allegiance.

The President hopes, in conclusion, that the example of Mississippi will be followed by the other Southern States.

Judge E. S. Fisher was nominated for Governor, and the Convention adjourned *sine die.*

NORTH CAROLINA.

GOV. HOLDEN'S ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE OUTRAGES ON THE FREEDMEN.

BEAUFORT, Friday, Aug. 25.

Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, having requested Gen. Ruger, commanding at Raleigh, to remand three citizens arrested by the latter for assaulting a freedman, to the county in which the assault was committed, to be tried by a civil tribunal; and calling his attention to the fact that civil law has been organized in that county, Gen. Ruger replies that it appears to him inexpedient to comply with the request, for the reasons, among others, that it is the duty of the military to preserve order; that though magistrates have been appointed, they do not take official notice of unlawful violence toward freedmen, although such acts have by no means become unfrequent in the different sections of the State. He also says that of late several cases of homicide of freedmen by whites have been brought to his knowledge, but in no case, so far as he had learned, was any arrest made by the magistrate or civil officers, or attempt had for investigation. And from his own observation and information, these acts of violence are becoming more frequent. He therefore thinks prompt trial and punishment by military commission the only adequate remedy for the evil.

POPULAR DISBELIEF IN EMANCIPATION.

An Associated Press dispatch dated Newbern, Thursday, Aug.

Miscellaneous Department.

TWILIGHT.

SEPTEMBER's slender crescent grows again
Distinct in yonder peaceful evening-rod.
Clearer the stars are sparkling overhead,
And all the sky is pure, without a stain.

Cool blows the evening wind from out the west,
And bows the flowers, the last sweet flowers that bloom,
Pale asters, many a heavy waving plume
Of golden-rod, that bends as if opprest.

The summer's songs are hushed. Up the lone shore
The weary waves wash sadly, and a grief
Sounds in the wind, like farewells fond and brief.
The cricket's chirp but makes the silence more.

Life's autumn comes; the leaves begin to fall;
The moods of spring and summer pass away;
The glory and the rapture, day by day,
Depart, and soon the quiet grave folds all.

O thoughtful sky, how many eyes in vain
Are lifted to your beauty, full of tears!
How many hearts go back through all the years,
Heavy with loss, eager with questioning pain

To read the dim Hereafter,—to obtain
One glimpse beyond the earthly curtain, where
Their dearest dwell, where they may be or e'er
September's slender crescent shines again!

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

ELECTION PLEASANTRIES.

From the Saturday Review.

THE inhuman fastidiousness of which popular orators and writers are so fond of accusing the more cultivated classes has received a severe rebuke during the last fortnight. Bloated patricians and flippant cynics have been brought face to face with the stern dignity of the sovereign people, and the grave thoughtfulness with which, as the phrase goes, a great nation chooses its rulers ought to make the feudalist hide his head in confusion or reverence. The sublime truth that every man is or ought to be the equal of every other, especially if he pays fewer taxes and has less time for vexing his head with knowledge, has been confirmed almost to demonstration. Such an opportunity of inspecting the "great heart" of the people does not often present itself. It is a grand and refreshing thing to look upon proud aristocrats and self-seeking lawyers and opulent traders vainly trying to get a hearing from the down-trodden crowd of non-electors. Those who sympathize with the noble aspirations of the people are filled with lofty gratification as they behold a man of culture and position, with pallid face, making inaudible speeches and gesticulating wildly to a select circle immediately around him, while the great heart of the thousands below is revealing its feelings by insensate bellowing and preposterous jesting and indiscriminate fighting. The scene of the nomination at Lewes, for example, is one which should cause unspeakable joy in the minds of people like the sage member for Rochdale, who believes that the majority of the population are kept in the most degrading sort of serfdom by their oligarchic oppressors. The politicians of that delightful borough displayed an exquisite ingenuity which could scarcely be found elsewhere. In most other places, the crowd showed its sensibility to political errors in the various candidates by the simple and comparatively unobjectionable process of fighting and shouting. At Lewes, more stringent measures were taken to bring the candidates to a juster sense of what is due to an enlightened public. Mr. Brand had apparently inflicted the deepest wound on the intelligent conviction of his constituents by voting for the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, while one of his opponents had outraged the popular sympathy with the theory of non-intervention by expressing in his address a regret that we had not gone to war with the United States. The mild but humorous way in which these aberrations were punished was most satisfactory. During the delivery of the speeches, "rotten eggs, bags of flour, of soot, and of red brickdust, fell in showers upon those in front of and within the hustings, covering them with a most disgusting and evil-smelling mixture." Mr. Brand himself had to make his speech amid a shower of this sweet and fragrant mixture. His sin had been grievous, but the "gentlemen electors," as he euphemistically styled a crowd which contained neither gentlemen nor electors, tempered justice with mercy, and rotten eggs with soot. Still justice was done. Three times a retreat was beaten into the Town Hall. Even the beadle, whose august office might have been expected to command a respect that was denied to a mere Secretary of the Treasury, became "an unfortunately conspicuous mark," and though he rang his bell with heroic energy and commanded silence with pompous dignity, the storm of eggs and red brickdust raged with unabated fury. Of course there was the usual allowance of the time-honored political pastime of fighting, but even here there was a mildness that seems peculiarly characteristic of Lewes, for we are told that after a lull "the late combatants, whose bruised and bleeding features testified to the vigor of the blows they had received, resumed their stations as good-humoredly as though nothing unpleasant had occurred." At one point in the proceedings Mr. Brand refreshed himself with a glass of water, and this seemed to be regarded as personally offensive even to his own supporters, for it was followed by a storm of universal hoots and groans. With a kind of Dutch courage, the unlucky candidate told his friends it would be much better for them if they drank more water and less beer. Beer was plainly the weak point in his cause, for a sarcastic supporter inquired of him, "Who gives us two shillings a day and no beer?" The Conservatives were enchanted with this significant hint, and gave vent to their triumphant exultation in inextinguishable yells and moans.

It would seem that things are cheaper in Waterford than at Lewes, for there the cry was, "Down with Barron, he only gives a fellow 1s. 6d. a day!" But more formidable to Sir Henry Barron than his parsimony was the hostility of a pugilist of the name of Knox, who was retained by Mr. Blake. "Mr. Blake's men," says the reporter who describes the Waterford city nomination, "were powerful athletic fellows, who could clear the gallery in a second if they were so inclined, but they liked freedom of voice and action, and rather gloried in the opposition they met with." In fact, the opposition they met with was inadequate to meet their desires; so—to borrow the fine historic style of the reporter—"Knox challenges any of Barrington's men to jump down and fight him; one of the challenged prunges at him, but is knocked over *en route*, and disappears." Amid cheers and whistling the fighting becomes general, and "at last Knox emerges from the *mêlee* triumphant, but almost *in puris naturalibus*." When the last seconder had finished his speech, "the two front rows of the gallery stood up as one man at this juncture, and made a great show of fighting; they then sat down quietly, like men who felt they had done their business well." The show seems to have been as important as the reality, for at the beginning of the business the public, "like an impetuous wintry torrent, dashing along its channel after bursting the barriers that had restrained it," invaded the gallery, "shouting, screaming, leaping, waving caps and hats, hoarsely bellowing discordant warcries, and *making a feint of throttling each other*." At Cashel the proceedings were conducted in an equally orthodox fashion. The Court was filled with "a yelling crowd, entangled and struggling in one heaving billow, young and old, lusty and infirm, male and female, shouting, whistling, groaning, dragging, dancing, foaming with irrepressible rage." Women wrongfully deprived of the suffrage would not suffer themselves to be robbed, at all events, of the precious Hibernian privilege annexed to it. "Well-looking, well-dressed girls, one a perfect Amazon, bared their arms, wound their shawls tigatly round them, and rushed into the *mêlee*." When one of the candidates appeared, "some danced with delight, others groaned and grinned with fury." The chronicler becomes almost lyric in his excitement. "That woman there," he exclaims, "with black chenille net and lilac muslin gown is a perfect maniac. See that fine-shouldered handsome fellow, his shirt torn open, and his broad heaving chest red with the strain of muscular excitement; he is a prisoner; they are dragging him towards the door; they tear at him, and clutch him by the throat, as if to strangle and stifle within his throat the cheers for O'Beirne." And, most tremendous of all, "there is a girl not sixteen, her features distorted and her whole frame quivering with frenzied agitation, how she beats the wooden planks, and *bites* everything within her reach." Surely, if the Patagonians or the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego were to awake to the glories of representative government, they could scarcely show a more delicate appreciation of the new boon than is found in Ireland. At Dungarvan, the Conservative candidate, on leaving the railway station, was at once seized by a woman of the town and, after a severe struggle, was anut up in his hotel. When the nomination took place, there was the usual hooting and fighting in the mob, and even the candidates got into an altercation about the privilege of speaking first. It was suggested that they should toss up, but eventually "the question was decided without its being necessary to adopt that *dernier ressort*." The Dungarvan reporter, by the way, is most wonderfully particular about the gentility of his language. While the candidates were disputing, he tells us, "the *oi polloi*—who, *par parenthèse*, were, if he may be permitted to use such a vulgar simile, packed as close as a barrel of herrings—shouted, cheered, &c., in the most uproarious manner possible. Well might one of the speakers declare that "there is not a small town in Ireland so enlightened, so well-educated." We cannot omit to pause before the superb imagery of this patriotic orator. "This shrewd and enlightened people"—*par parenthèse*, at the moment shouting and howling like wild beasts beneath him—"at once saw through the *gauze shroud that covered the fœtid carcass of expiring Toryism*." Familiar Latin quotations assume an unwonted and hideous aspect in the hands of the enlightened reporters of the district, and we have first "de mortius nil nisi bonum," and then "te de mortius nill nisi verum," to say nothing of "habamus confitentum reum." At Cashel, one O'Shea was profuse in quotations, but his own language was quite powerful enough to make such ornaments superfluous. He accused his opponents of "summoning to their aid the genial spirits of beer, bribery, and blackguardism." And when somebody in the crowd called out, "It's a lie, how dare you use that language, you hireling!" O'Shea replied to the elegant interruption by saying that the people before him were "howling Bedlamites." It may be some satisfaction to our English patriotism to remember that the most practical piece of facetiousness is due to the Cheltenham Conservative who replied to some rude pleasantry of one of Col. Berkeley's supporters by shooting the unwarrantable joker stone-dead.

Belfast, of course, carried off the palm for atrocious ruffianism. "One would have thought," says a witness, "that hell itself was empty, and all the devils were there." The life of an unpopular candidate "would not have been worth a minute's purchase, if he had been cast unaided in the midst of the raging maniacs, who grimaced at him, who shook their fists and clubs as nearly as they could in his face, and some of whom strove to clamber over the partition which divided him from them." Even in their triumph the Orangemen were as ruffianly and malignant as they had been before the result was known. While they were waiting for the declaration of the poll, they were delighted with the performance of an orator who for half an hour or more turned all the doctrines held most sacred by Roman Catholics into revolting jests. And it is said that the well-dressed people on the platform entered into the outrageous proceedings with as much enthusiasm as the crowd of malignant wretches below. The senseless riots at Nottingham and Chippenham are comparatively creditable by the side of these outbursts of religious fury. It is not a very plucky thing certainly to throw tombstones at a vicar's windows because he voted for the Conservative candidate, but it is not so bad as if the same persons had parodied the vicar's religious beliefs and turned the Thirty-nine Articles into as many comic songs. An outbreak of religious malignity is a good deal more odious than one of mere unmeaning political irritation. And there is something more to be said for the conduct of the Liberal rioters at Chippenham. Besides throwing tombstones at the vicar's window, they showed their sincere detestation of Conservatism, even in its most elementary form, by incontinently robbing a butcher's shop of all the joints it had contained, and a large quantity of furniture is also said to have been missing. A man who joins a riot for the sake of a leg of mutton and an arm-chair may deserve imprisonment for theft, but theft in Wiltshire is not so profoundly inimical to the common weal as frantic Orangeism is in Ulster.

The nomination for Dublin University was made the scene of a very novel form of electioneering wit. While a candidate was delivering a thrilling peroration, the whole assembly was thrown into a state of violent consternation by the sudden letting off of fireworks by some Conservative politician in a remote part of the room. This original device had the desired effect, for the orator fled from the rostrum in dismay. Perhaps some of the turbulent members of the House of Commons may seize the suggestion, and instead of calling on Mr. Whalley to sing, may make his appearance an occasion for letting off Roman candles, or some other equally significant firework. Not the least remarkable of the political pleasantries of the elections was the speech of the gentleman who seconded Sir John Pakington. This genuine philosopher, with a soul above partisanship and consistency and the like, expressed his thorough dissent from all his candidate's opinions and principles, declared a fervent wish that the right honorable gentleman might be in Opposition as long as ever he had a seat in the House, and wound up by calling him a fit and proper person to represent the electors in Parliament. If all the world acted on the same principle, we fear it would not prove the most effective means of securing the desired end. One candidate is said to have achieved the unparalleled feat of discomfiting an impudent school-boy. The election was in the neighborhood of a large public school, and as the candidate had seen reason to turn from Whig to Tory, or from Tory to Whig, we forget which, the boys showed their profound contempt for political inconsistency by attending the nomination with jackets turned inside out. When the candidate had concluded his address he expressed his readiness to answer any questions, on which one of the boys with his jacket still reversed came forward and asked, "Why did you turn your coat, like I have done?" "Because I was a fool, like you," was the prompt reply.

FRENCH TEACHERS IN LONDON.—Two years ago, some of the chief French teachers living in London formed themselves into a society for the protection of their mutual interests. With a few exceptions,—men having names and connections of European celebrity,—French teachers are not much esteemed in England, even in our public schools and colleges. Their very presence in this country is held to be a suspicious fact. Their morality is impugned, their religion disliked. In this estimate there is a good deal of prejudice, no doubt; but, on the other side, it is not to be concealed that the French teacher is often an adventurer, broken in fortune and bankrupt in character, having no real attainments and a batch of spurious testimonials. No men know these facts better than the French teachers who have organized the "Association of Professors" in order to protect their honorable calling. They admit to their ranks men of good education only; they test the genuineness of degrees and testimonials; and recommend, according to their lights, none but competent persons. But here comes in a fresh element of disturbance, that of religion; and on this point they make an appeal: "In many English Institutions, public as well as private," they say, "the candidate for office meets with an absolute objection if he does not confess himself a Protestant. Now, the number of French teachers who are Protestants by birth is comparatively small; and we respectfully ask you whether it is wise or right to place a man, at the outset, between his interest and his conscience, especially when he is fully aware that a declaration of his Protestantism is in many instances required and received as a mere formality? As a sad consequence, you lose the services of many honest, conscientious, and high-minded men, who, though by no means violent Catholics themselves, shrink before the slightest deception, and tell the truth on principle. We might quote many striking instances, but we abstain for obvious reasons, and pointedly put to you the question: instead of accepting a man on a false profession which he is tempted to make, would it not be infinitely preferable, both for your own sake and that of your French Masters, to be satisfied with a promise never to interfere with the religion of the pupils, a promise which, we can assure you, none of those introduced by us would ever think of breaking?" It is no compliment to us that such a question can still be put. We sometimes boast of our enlightenment and toleration; but men who object to learn French from a Catholic teacher must have a very false idea of true liberality of mind.—*Athenæum.*

POLITENESS.—A correspondent of the Newport *Mercury* communicates the following to that paper. Comment is useless:

"Some few days ago I took a white boy at Bailey's Corner, and gave him a ride to town, some two miles. I stopped my horse and he jumped out and ran away without saying a word. A few days after I let another white boy get into my buggy in Broad street, and carried him a mile or two on his way home; he too, got out, but did not stop to thank me. A little further on I was applied to by a white boy and a contraband for a ride; I took them both up and carried them a short distance only, in the turn of the road they were to take. Just as they were getting out, the contraband politely said 'I am much obliged to you, sir!' and then turned to the white boy, who remained silent, and said sharply to him, 'Why don't you thank the gentleman?' which he then did. I hope that contraband will establish a school of politeness for the benefit of white boys."

THE TORQUAY MURDER.

From the London Review.

IT is a humiliating confession to be obliged to make, that in this country, which boasts of being *par excellence* the home of the domestic virtues, infanticide should be among the commonest of crimes. Yet the revelations of the present and of past assizes leave no doubt that such is the dreadful truth. There is scarcely a county in England without its two or three cases of child-murder, or, at all events, "concealment of birth," and wherever they occur they are nearly always marked by the same melancholy features. The culprit is usually the mother, who is impelled by poverty, desertion, or perhaps shame, to "put away" the living token of her sin. Sometimes, however, she does not work alone. The recent trial for the Torquay murder at the Exeter Assizes proves that there are women in Devonshire at any rate who are ready, for paltry sums of money, to help unfortunate girs to get rid of inconvenient offspring, and who pursue their hideous calling with a Satanic cunning which renders discovery almost impossible. Seldom in the annals of crime has there been a more fearful disclosure of wickedness than that made last week in the course of the trial of Charlotte Winsor.

This infamous woman was indicted at the Spring Assizes, along with Mary Jane Harris, for the murder of the child of the latter. The evidence, which was purely circumstantial, was not conclusive; and after a long deliberation, the jury were discharged. Last week Winsor was put on her trial alone, and Harris was admitted as Queen's evidence. Her testimony revealed an amout of cruelty and depravity which one would have supposed impossible in Christian England. It seems that, seven years ago, when she was only sixteen years of age, she was seduced by a man of the name of Nicholls. The result of her intercourse with him was the birth of a child, who is, we believe, still alive, and who has been maintained by the father. Harris went into service at Torquay after her first misfortune, and for four or five years was well conducted. She was a hard-working girl; and, singularly enough, when her subsequent careeer is considered, was valued by her mistress for her kindness and attention when there was sickness or sorrow in the house. In the course of last year she unfortunately again met Nicholls, and in October gave birth to a second child at the house of a Mrs. Gibson. For some time the infant was kept there; but in December, Harris, who was again in service, seems to have determined to get rid of it. What her motive was is uncertain; but she probably found it impossible to continue to pay for its keeping. Mrs. Winsor now appeared on the scene. She was known in the country as a "wise woman," and had acquired a horrible reputation for skill in helping young women like Mary Harris out of their difficulties. Her lone cottage near Torquay had often been used by girls in the neighborhood as a home during their confinement, and there, in solitude and silence, many a little victim had been foully murdered. On the 12th of December Harris took her child, whom she nevertheless told the jury at Exeter that she "wished to live," to the den of this ogress. Winsor, on the same day that she received the child, had some conversation with Harris, and recited some of her previous exploits. "She said that she had put away one of a girl who was confined at her house. I asked her how she did it. She said she put her finger on the jugular vein. She also said she had stifled one three weeks old for Elizabeth Sharland. . . . She said she had put away one for her sister Porry." Harris asked her the same evening whether she was not afraid. "No," she answered; "—— with you, it's doing good." She seems to have acted with philosophic coolness, and perhaps, if her station was different, we should find sentimental journalists pleading for a mitigation of the sentence she will soon undergo, on the ground that she is the enlightened though mistaken exponent of Malthusian principles. She was ready, not only to kill a solitary babe, but if paid well enough, for a wholesale massacre of innocents. "I'll put them all by for thee," she told Harris, "if thee hast forty."

The dismal drama was soon played out. On the 9th of February Harris went to the cottage. On her arrival she found her child tied to a chair, and Winsor's granddaughter, Selina Pratt, playing with it. Pratt was sent into Torquay on an errand, and then the female Thug commenced her operations. We give the description of what followed in the mother's own words: "She asked me then if she should do it. I asked how she could do it. She said, 'Put it between the bed ticks.' I don't remember that she said any more; but she took the child into the girl Pratt's bedroom. I did not then go in, nor could I see what she did. She stayed there about ten minutes, and then came back into the room without the baby. She said, would I look in, and that it soon died. I looked in and saw the bed made up, but no child. I saw the child's body afterwards." There is someting inconceivably horrible in the naked simplicity of this narrative. Even to read it almost freezes the blood, and to have heard it fall from the lips of a young mother, whose instinct should have taught her to cherish her wretched offspring, must have been still more appalling. This evidence sealed the fate of Winsor, and she will speedily be sent to the disgraceful death which she richly deserves. She will rank amongst the most atrocious criminals of modern times. Never was there a more cold-blooded and horrible murder. Unless Harris, under the influence either of conscience, or a selfish desire to save her own life, had "split," the gunt could not have been brought thoroughly home. If murder be, as Mr. De Quincy once suggested, a fine art, Winsor is a great artist, greater than Palmer or Pritchard, or even than Mrs. Manning or Catherine Wilson.

But the younger prisoner's guilt is but little inferior to Winsor's. It is impossible, as Mr. Justice Keating observed, for any reasonable being to doubt that she wished her child to die, and not, as she again and again alleged, to live. We believe that, in ordinary cases, it is usual to pardon an approver. But this is an exceptional case, and we think that Harris should herself receive a heavy punishment. She is evidently not altogether wanting in the better feelings of human nature, and, no doubt, was tempted by her fellow-prisoner to "put away" her child. Still, after making every allowance for her, we cannot shut our eyes to the plain fact that she sat quietly in one room, whilst, to her knowledge and with her sanction, her offspring was being smothered in another. Her excuse that she was "fooled up" to the deed is a very lame one. The hideous seed sown by Winsor would never have taken root save in a wicked heart. She may have a right to claim exemption from the capital penalty, but if she were to escape altogether, the claims of justice will be only half satisfied.

We fear that Winsor is not a solitary criminal. Every day the statistics of infanticide become more and more alarming, and for one case that comes to light, there are many that escape detection. The experience of our country coroners shows that in many country villages and great cities there are women like the Torquay murderess exercising their terrible profession. Such persons, however, cannot be attacked by any special legislation, and we must trust to the vigilance of the police to bring them to justice. But it must be remembered that many child-murders are committed by the mothers, alone and unassisted, and the reluctance of juries to convict in such cases operates as a direct encouragement to crime. At present the trial of a woman for killing her own child is too often almost a farce. If the murder is done soon after the babe is born, a verdict of "concealment of birth" is invariably returned; if at a later time, a jury will catch at any straw to save themselves from the necessity of convicting. In fact, they feel, not without reason, that a young girl who, in a paroxysm of shame or despair, destroys her child, is not a fit subject for the gallows, and they shrink from a conclusion which they suppose will be certainly followed by the infliction of the extreme penalty of the law. They are, indeed, mistaken in their opinion, for in most cases the prisoner would receive a reprieve, but the judge cannot say so in plain words, and they therefore refuse to run the risk of returning the verdict demanded by the evidence. The remedy for this state of things is obvious. The punishment for infanticide should be mitigated, and then it would become certain. There would be an end at once of acquittals of sane criminals on such grounds as "insanity" or "puerperal mania," and of improper convictions for concealment of birth.

But although an increased certainty of conviction would, we believe, operate very beneficially, the real remedy for the crime of infanticide can only be found in the diffusion of a higher standard of morality among the lower classes. Among the middle class, we may say with truth that purity is the rule, and unchastity the exception. We are afraid that the same cannot be said of the class whence servant-girls and shop-girls are drawn. They are, from the nature of their occupations, subject to innumerable temptations, and need the constant care of those in authority over them. It is, of course, impossible to be always watching them, but solitary walks at late hours should be rigidly forbidden. A discreet mistress, moreover, will encourage a virtuous attachment. There is a strong prejudice among old-fashioned people against "followers," but a decent lover, whose presence in the kitchen is recognized and sanctioned, is the strongest preservative of a servant's virtue. It is when she is driven out to seek furtive interviews in dark lanes and side streets that she is in danger. A policy of generosity on the part of her employers, and a frank acceptance of the fact that she has the same feelings as themselves, will do much to keep her in the path of honesty and virtue.

HATS.*

From the Spectator.

IT is not easy to write an advertisement which shall fill a hundred pages demy octavo, yet be clever enough to be read, and we congratulate Mr. Melton on his success. He has beaten Moses and Moses' poet out of the field, and produced a *brochure* as he calls it, which for vanity and knowledge, egotism and comicality, affectation of language and simplicity of purpose, surpasses anything in the way of the puff literary we remember recently to have seen. Let the reader imagine a treatise in the style of a linen-draper's circular, a book written like one of Miles' or Hyam's puffs, a whole volume, though a small one, dictated by one of the scholars who prepare Mr. Bennett's extraordinary descriptions of the connection between his watches and the events of the day, and he will even then have scarcely an idea of the contents of the boarded pamphlet in which Mr. Melton, prince of hatters and hatter to the Prince, confidant of the Prince Consort in his military-hat innovations, author of the annual festival kept up by the tradesmen to the Prince of Wales, inventor of the "Prince Albert's general's hat," relates his autobiography, descants on the history of head-dresses, describes a professional visit to the Earl of Stamford, during which he worshipped "between" the household and the family, and exalts to the skies his own inventiveness and artistic perception. The native conceit of the book is matchless, and somehow gives one a pleasant conception of the writer, even when he is criticizing a picture of Landseer's in this genuinely professional style:

"Sir Edwin, when painting his famous picture of 'Eos,' sent to me for a hat of the Prince Consort's, the style of which he introduced into the picture, placing it as lying easily on its side on a cushion, and showing nearly as much as half of the inside of the lining. Had the hat but luckily been placed just an inch more horizontally, the crown would have displayed my name as 'Hatter to His Royal Highness,' and thus rendered me an incalculable service, without prejudicing the picture in the least degree. But Fate, or the artist's fancy, decreed otherwise."

Mr. Melton believes in his business as well as his own superiority, has indeed evidently some difficulty in restraining himself from declaring his trade the highest among arts, and consequently himself the highest among artists. Are not clothes the test of civilization, and is not the hat *the* important item among clothes? Wear a battered one and try, or, as Mr. Melton more grandiloquently puts it, will not "reflection make us confess that these shapes of our hats are the result of, and concomitant with, the natural growth of the progress of civilization and the exigencies of social life? They constitute an important portion of the natural fitness of things. They are the harmonious completion of a system of cravats, shirts, waistcoats, coats, and trousers, each made for the other, and severally parts to a whole." The syllogism is clearness itself. If a man wears breeches he must wear a waistcoat, if a waistcoat, a coat, if a coat, a shirt, if a shirt, a cravat,—necktie the vulgar call it,—if a cravat, a hat, and the writer adds through every page of his pamphlet, if a hat, Melton's. The fact that nine-tenths of mankind utterly reject the syllogism, despise trousers, waistcoats, and shirts equally, consider cravats tortures and a hat the especial mark of a God-forgotten people, is nothing to the purpose. Why should a Regent Street tradesman recognize savages like the men who built the Alhambra or the Taj Mehal, or concern himself about high-cheeked imbeciles like those who invented china and gunpowder and block-printing, or worry himself with speculations as to whether the patricians who conquered the world did really cover their heads with anything more artificial than laurel? Is not the nineteenth century greatest of centuries, England greatest of nations, London greatest of cities, Mr. Melton greatest hatter in London? Paris indeed, is something, but even in Paris men are fools enough to say that a gentleman is always *bien chaussé, bien ganté, et bien coiffé*, and what *is* the arrangement of the hair to that of the hat which conceals it? As well talk to a milliner of the value of cleanliness in under linen as to a hatter of hyacinthine locks, unless indeed they can be made to set off the black chimney-pot above them. Charles Lamb believed that snuff was the final cause of the human nose, and Mr. Melton would say the final use of hair was to support a chimney-pot hat. Indeed he goes further, and declares that the hat should bear a distinct relation to the nose of its wearer. "Then, too, the nose! Is that a feature to be disregarded? Is a nose of no importance to a man's face? Ought so prominent a part of the human face divine to be neglected, to be placed in the hands of any vender of hats, without reflection or esteem for the proprieties of adaptation, or judgment and picturesqueness of due proportion? Certainly not! What if some noses—as of the Greek—go straight down; others—as of the Roman—arch forward in a grandly curved outline; others—as of the Gothic order—push gently forward, swelling at the nostrils; others, again, turn up; others spread out and are bulbous below, as of the negro? Would the same kind of hat suit all of them, in all their varieties of tips, points, and expressions? Assuredly not. And here the taste, the genius, and the judgment of the hatter may be advantageously brought into requisition by the well-advised student of dress and personal comfort."

One thinks with regret how closely Mr. Melton, had the fates been more propitious, and suffered him to inherit his father's plum, might have rivalled the fame of Brummell or of D'Orsay, have devised coats with an artistic relation to teeth, or carriages based on a theory of harmony between hammer-cloths and finger nails. Mark his proud regret;

"I was trained up in early life with the prospect of entering one or other of the learned professions; my father during that period being blessed with the gifts of Dame Fortune to the pleasing tune of 100,000*l.*, but a reverse in the will of that fickle jade made it incumbent on me to seek an immediate independence by my own exertions. About this time the successful career of the famous Mr. Moore, the hatter, attracted my attention. The fashionable position of his son, his four-in-hand, his general reception into good society, his reputation as a patron of art and *belles lettres*, pointed to well-earned wealth in trade as something worthy a young gentleman's ambition, so I made up my mind to be a Hatter, and set forth, with the earnest enthusiasm of youth, on a career which I expected would lead certainly to wealth and fame. I have not been disappointed, although my position, in contrast with that of my millionaire prototype, may partake somewhat of that of the Irish gentleman in the story:—'What have you for dinner to-day, O'Brien?' 'Boiled beef and potatoes, Phelim.' 'Ah! just my own dinner—*barrin' the beef*.' I have achieved the fame—

"The rest the gods dispersed in empty air."

We shall horrify Mr. Melton, but before discussing with him the best covering for the head, we are inclined to put one question never yet settled to our satisfaction, or that of anybody else who ever thought upon the subject. Is there any necessity apart from fashion for any such covering at all? The ancient world did not always wear one, and was not a bit more afflicted with headache than the modern; half of the latter does not wear it, for though Mr. Melton chooses to assert that every civilized person does except the Chinaman, the Hindoo is forbidden to use one by his creed, and among the mass of the people the rule is carefully obeyed. Four hundred millions of people at least never cover the head voluntarily; neither do Bluecoat School-boys; neither do London butchers; neither do European women of the higher class, unless we call a wisp of muslin stiffened with a pitch or two of straw or a few inches of fine wire a covering. None of them suffer from its absence, and there is no *a priori* reason why a cylinder of fluff-covered paper which only covers the crown, which does not protect the neck, or the ears, or the eyes, or anything except the mere top of the head, should adds so greatly to the general health. It certainly adds nothing to comfort, for of all imbecile contrivances for impeding the traveller's progress in a wind commend us to the hat, while it reduces us to the use of that still more annoying contrivance, an umbrella. Were it not for the hat, a good mackintosh would be a perfect protection, but we must have umbrellas to save the fragile constructions which cost a guinea a piece, are spoiled if they are dented, injured if a sharp wind strikes them, and utterly ruined by a pelting shower of rain. As to beauty, there have been head-dresses which improve men's appearance—the cap of maintenance does, and so does the sombrero—but the hat of civilization is an object of ridicule alike to the artist and the savage, to the great painter who will only attempt it when thrown on one side, and the half-civilized man, who quite seriously nicknames the European who has conquered him the "being who wears a hat," and feels that the epithet consoles him for subjugation. Mr. Melton takes up the cudgels bravely for the detestable contrivance, but he starts with the admission that the ideal among head coverings is the sombrero, and when driven to argument has nothing better to offer than this string of assertions:

"In the first place I must distinctly maintain that the hat is not an expensive article; it costs in a year less than any other part of one's dress. Its frailty is quite a matter of option, as it can be made so light as to weigh only 2½ oz., or pretty near as strong as oak. It does *not* let in the rain; it *does* keep the sun from the head; and, when made a fair width in the brim, protects the eyes from the sun. That it may attract the wind I admit, but that is counterbalanced by the fact of its affording the means of effecting perfect ventilation—which hats of the present day can be arranged to do, as to defy any fault-finding upon that important point. That it is not the *multum in parvo* desired by our distinguished author, having in itself *every* requisite, such as to travel or sleep in, I admit. Perhaps the distinguished critic would like it to combine the advantage of a bootjack? Cold it cannot be; and as to its being uncomfortable, that can only arise from carelessness in the fit; while to my mind, the fact of its universal adoption is a good proof of its general merits. I am constantly subject to the simple remark of 'Why do you not introduce something new to replace the present hat?' But when I have opened upon the subject the inquirer has lost all argument, and admitted that he dislikes the hat because other persons have expressed similar objections. In no instance have I received anything like a sound suggestion for improvement."

The last sentence is strictly true, the hat sharing with the Irish Church the immense advantage that improvement must begin with its total abolition. Mr. Melton says it does not let in the rain, but let him try his own workmanship for a day on a Highland moor, or on the deck of a Scotch steamer during what the natives call "a moist day." He believes that it shades the eye, but no man in Asia in his senses ever put one on except to pay a ceremonial visit, and as to its weight, the test of that is pain, and we, at all events, never yet saw the hat which its owner after an entire day's wear did not take off every five minutes. Cool we believe it is, or would be if it were white, cooler probably than any other covering, except a thick turban, but this is its sole advantage, and even this requires the qualification that in a hot day or a hot climate the hat is useless without some folds of muslin or linen falling over the neck. As for its universal use, it is used by about one-tenth of mankind, that tenth never uses it in boyhood, in play-ground or the cricket-field, by the sea-side or on the farm, at sea or in battle, when at ease or when abroad, or in short in any one position in which it can by possibility invent a good excuse for wearing anything else. That substitutes have not succeeded we admit, but that is because all substitutes yet tried have been devised with a view to picturesque effect, and a picturesque head-dress does not accord with the unpicturesque body-dress of the day. But the failure of substitutes no more proves that the original is good than the failure to cure cholera proves that cholera is a mild disease; all it shows is the deficient inventiveness of those who have attempted it. Mr. Melton says he is not in fault, and we are far from attributing the faults of our head-dresses to him, for he has pronounced, in the teeth of his own interests, in favor of the only perfect hat ever invented by man, the sombrero,—but it is a little too much to be told that the persistency of a fashion proves its merit. How long has the cocked hat, most imbecile of disfigurements, kept itself alive? Let any one who doubts the demerits of the hat compare the two sketched upon pages 74 and 75, both the results of the combined genius of the Prince Consort and his hatter. The one, the hat of daily life, is a tall cylinder, widening at the top, with a brim just narrow enough to make its top-heaviness conspicuous, made of material which will bear nothing, and quite incapable of giving the slightest protection either to nape, or ears, or eyes; the other, the deer-stalker's hat, completely shades the eyes, would protect the head from a club, and when ever required completely covers neck and ears. Made of good material it is for all purposes of use perhaps the best head-dress in existence, and why should it be pronounced *outré* in London any more than on a moor? At all events, if it is forbidden in favor of its rival, let us acknowledge that we yield to an unreasonable caprice of fashion, and not attempt to defend an article of dress, which on every ground of health, economy, or beauty is indefensible, which no sensible man ever wears when off the pavement, and in which no man would ever think of sitting for his portrait.

* *Hints on Hats.* By Henry Melton, London: J. C. Hotton.

COLENSO.

From the Pall Mall Gazette.

THE Bishop of Natal's farewell to this country, on his return to his diocese, is too remarkable an event to be passed altogether without notice. In general the comings and goings of colonial bishops are matters of singularly little interest to the public at large, and produce nothing more than materials for more or less well-imagined sarcasms. The case of the Bishop of Natal is altogether different. His visit to England and his departure from it have formed a memorable passage in the history of the Church, and will not soon be forgotten. Perhaps there never was a case in which a single person, who was neither the organ of any party, nor the possessor of first-rate natural powers, nor the discoverer of any new and surprising truths, was able, by the force of mere individual courage and plain speaking, to bring about consequences of equal importance in so great an institution as the Church of England. If we look back at the manner in which his books were first received, three or four years ago, and compare with it the way in which he is treated at present, we shall see how very fast the world is moving in this country towards great and permanent changes in theological opinion—changes which, there can be no doubt at all, will react powerfully upon common life, and that at no distant period.

When the Bishop of Natal's books were first published, they were met with a chorus of indignant ridicule. Every one was eager to point out—first, that all that they contained had been said a hundred times before; secondly, that it was all untrue; and, thirdly, that it was perfectly ludicrous, and was, in fact, no more than a collection of arithmetical paradoxes, utterly unworthy of the greatness of the thesis which they were meant to support. All this, thrown into an innumerable variety of shapes, formed the argument of hundreds upon hundreds of refutations, which by their number, and especially by the tone in which they were written, showed how very hard a blow had been struck at the common belief on the subject to which the book referred. It was, of course, easy and obvious, and it was also perfectly true, to remark that most of the results obtained in the book had long been well known to scholars, and that the really singular part of the business was, that the Bishop himself should have lived so long in the world, and risen so high in the Church, before he made the discovery which so much perturbed him in the first instance, and, through him, so many others. This remark, however, in no way altered the fact, that the Bishop had found out for himself, and had put into a form which struck the popular imagination, and which it was far easier to ridicule than to refute, a set of conclusions which no doubt had long been familiar to a small circle of scholars, but which were utterly repugnant to the most cherished and most decided of all popular religious beliefs. It was very true, no doubt, that a considerable number of the clergy had known all this years and years before the Bishop of Natal had a word to say about it, but when, in order to depreciate him, they boasted of the fact, they did not find it equally easy to deal with the question—If you knew it all, why did not you say it? Why did you keep it to yourselves? This was no pleasant question, nor was it an easy one to answer.

It is very remarkable to trace, step by step, the different tone which the public took towards the Bishop of Natal. After the first outburst of indignation ridicule had passed away, and after Convocation had tried its hand at anathemas in a sufficiently awkward manner, the public at last appeared to awake by degrees to the fact that, after all, the Bishop of Natal had not been refuted, and that it was impossible to say that he had exceeded the limits which the law prescribes to free discussion amongst clergymen. The principles laid down in the cases of the Essays and Reviews were obviously wide enough to include the bulk at least of his speculations, and his refusal to resign, and constant challenge to his censors to prosecute him before a legal tribunal for what he had written, gradually opened the eyes of the public to the fact that, whether his opinions were true or false, the ground which he occupied was simple, intelligible, and perfectly honest. He emphatically repudiated all tacit understanding whatever as to the opinions which he was or was not at liberty to hold, and declared himself free from every other obligation than that which the law laid upon him; and he went on to assert that if his opinions were legal, and also true in fact, each of which points he was always ready to maintain in every possible way, the bare fact that they happened to be exceedingly unpopular was no sort of reason for not putting them forward.

The Bishop's own conduct has been in singular contrast to that of his antagonists. He has not made a single false step throughout, and he has succeeded in every stage of the contest. If he only succeeds equally well on his return to Natal in dealing with the opposition which he must, of course, expect to find there, he will have accomplished a very remarkable feat, and will have earned a title to a lasting reputation, the reputation of having vindicated principles of the highest importance by simple, straightforward honesty and courage.

There is something very impressive in the whole story. It affords an excellent illustration of the temper of the English mind on theological subjects. On the one hand there is a considerable class of persons who are thoroughly fierce, bigoted, and unscrupulous, and who, as soon as any form of theological opinions of which they are ignorant or which they dislike makes its appearance, attack it with every sort of weapon, fair or foul. There are the professional theologians, the polemical section of the clergy, the religious newspapers and their supporters. On the other hand, there are a vast number of fair and reasonable men who take a quiet interest in such questions, but who as a general rule take no part in disputes about them. They are, however, by no means really indifferent. They have their eyes upon controversies which are really important, and have a bearing on the practical affairs of life, and they show the view which they take in a way which, if quiet, is by no means less efficient. Some skill is required to detect the opinions of a body which has few organs, and no noisy ones, but there are signs which it is possible to read. The tone of writing and conversation changes, things are said and done which ten or even five years ago would not have been said or done, and imperceptibly the whole line of public feeling and opinion alters, though bigots are as violent and those who live to sneer at their neighbors as ostentatiously indifferent, as ever they were.

THE GUILD OF LITERATURE.—On